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STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS OF KASHMIRI FOLK TALES

LALITA HANDOO



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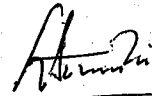
LALITA HANDOO



**CENTRAL INSTITUTE OF INDIAN LANGUAGES
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In the coming years, the Institute plans to consolidate the earlier work and expand the work in the areas of translation, computer applications and production of audio visual materials. It wishes to strike new grounds in language evaluation and storage and dissemination of language information. The Institute will move into a new Campus to carry on the work with new vigour and vision.

One part of the Silver Jubilee Celebration is the publication of 25 special volumes. The present book is one of these volumes.



(E. ANNAMALAI)
Director

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I wish to thank my supervisor Prof. H.M. Nayak (University of Mysore) for his continuous support and encouragement during the period of this research work. Prof. Alan Dundes, Prof. A.K. Ramanujan, Prof. Lauri Honko, Dr. Apo Satu, Prof. Reimund Kvideland, Prof. Brynjulf Alver and many more scholars in India and elsewhere have offered their generous support and comments on many aspects of this dissertation. I would like to express my gratitude to all of them. My husband Dr. Jawaharlal Handoo has always been there to help, to encourage and to share the excitement and at times the frustrations of this research. I would like to thank him for everything he did to make this research possible.

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My children, Heemal and Kashyap have shared the excitement of writing this dissertation and I am thankful to both of them for their support. I therefore, dedicate this work to both of them.

LALITA HANDOO

FOREWORD

The Central Institute of Indian Languages has reached 25 years of age and it is a time for reflection about its origin, development, achievements and shortfalls.

The study of Indian language with the objective of preparing them for the new roles of national reconstruction and development was the concern of many from the independence of the country. The major responsibility to support such a study was to be taken up by the State. The Kher Commission of the Government of India recommended the establishment of three Central Institutes for this purpose. The Official Language Resolution of 1968 made the Central Government also responsible for the development of all Indian languages in addition to Hindi. These and other developments led to the establishment of Central Institute of Indian Languages (CIIL) in Mysore on July 17, 1969.

The primary objective of the Institute is the development of Indian languages ensuring coordination between the various developmental activities at the governmental and non governmental levels and also by orienting linguistic research for the development of Indian languages. The Institute is also to contribute towards the maintenance of multilingualism of the country through language teaching, and translation and to strengthen the common bond between the Indian languages.

The work of the Institute consists of research, training and production of teaching materials. The results of these activities can be seen in its more than 300 publications and 6879 teachers trained in its Regional Language Centres. The Institute has been able to make an impact in language teaching in schools making it skill based and function oriented. It has brought audio visual and computed technology to aid the teaching of Indian languages. It has helped many tribal languages to be codified, described and used in education. Its research and training programmes in social, physiological and folkloristic aspects of language and culture have introduced new dimensions to research on Indian languages. The International Institutes organised by the Institute in sociolinguistics, semiotics, phonetics and other areas have helped the development of human resource in these areas.

The major problem of the Institute is that it cannot meet all language needs of the whole country. It has to play the role of a catalyst and modelsetter. The other agencies are to take over the universal implementation of the innovations. This has not taken place to the desired extent.

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PREFACE

Structuralism in folkloristics was born with the publication in Russian of V. J. Propp's *Morphology* in 1928. However, this big leap in folkloristics from historical to descriptive and from diachronic to synchronic era of analysis was not seriously felt, even in Russia, till the English translation of *Morphology* appeared in 1958. Besides other reasons, one important reason for this backwardness in folkloristics was simply because folklore studies all over the world was not prepared to receive the scientific benefits of this big leap. Propp, in that sense, was much ahead of his times. Folkloristics had to wait thirty long years to feel the real impact of this big leap.

Once the English translation of Propp's work appeared in 1958, structuralism, particularly Proppian structural analysis, spread like wild fire not only in folkloristics but in almost all social sciences and related disciplines. There is hardly any country now in the world where Propp's structural method has not been tested, applied and used with confidence and where it has not highly influenced folkloristics, literary theory and other related areas.

Very often scholars have expressed doubts about the cross-generic and cross-cultural validity of Propp's structural method. These doubts basically seem to stem from the age old problem of universals and specifics in cultures. The debate on this and other issues still continues.

In this excellent study Dr. (Mrs.) Lalita Handoo, a folklorist, has tried to test Propp's method cross-culturally and cross-generically by studying Kashmiri folktales on Proppian lines. This kind of exercise is unique and important in the sense that in India very few serious studies in folklore have been based on Proppian method. I hope that this work will inspire more serious work on Propp and structuralism in India.

July 1, 1994
Mysore

JAWAHARLAL HANDOO

advocates. These methodologies and the view points they present have been summarily described under the names of their chief proponents such as Joseph Bédier, A.I. Nikiforov, Adolf Stender Peterson, V.J. Propp, Claude Lévi-Strauss, Thomas A. Sebeok, Alan Dundes, A.J. Greimas, Claude Bremond, Roland Barthes, Heda Jason, Elli Köngäs Maranda and Pierre Maranda.

In Chapter Four Propp's morphological method has been introduced both as a scale, and as a scheme to measure the morphology of Kashmiri folktales. The morphology and the morphological combinations thus found in these narratives are of the following kind: (i) Villainy - Villainy Liquidated (A - K) type, (ii) Lack - Lack Liquidated (a - K) type, (iii) Task - Task Resolved (M - N) type. This morphological scheme takes into account, both the Single Move Tales and the Multi Move Tales. However, in this Chapter, the morphology of only Single Move Tales (both A - K and a - K type) is discussed.

In continuation of the previous Chapter, the morphology of the Multi Move Tales, their various move - combinations, schemes and the order they follow in various conditions are discussed in Chapter Five. Four main Move Combinations are, therefore, identified, described and discussed. These are: (i) Direct Move Combinations, (ii) Interwoven Move Combinations, (iii) Embedded Move Combinations and (iv) Simultaneous Move Combinations.

In Chapter Six, the structure of the so-called "non-fairy" tales, traditionally known as novellas or sometimes labelled as numskull or trickster tales, etc, is described. These simple narrative forms, for obvious reasons, do not exhibit the complex morphology of the fairy tales. However, they are highly structured narrative forms, and as such demand the application of Propp's structural method atleast in its basic logical metaphor. An attempt has, therefore, been made in this Chapter to reduce the basic structure of these thematically different narratives into a logical formula, which works out as Task - Task Resolved (M - N) Type. This basic structure is further subdivided into three groups, which are discussed both structurally and in terms of themes as well.

Besides a brief summary of the preceding Chapters, the final part of this study, in the form of a Conclusion, briefly discusses the main structural characteristics of Kashmiri folktales, from the point of view of their morphology. This chapter further consolidates the findings as far as the applicational aspects of Propp's method are concerned.

* * * *

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INTRODUCTION

The main thrust of the present work is to test scientifically V.J. Propp's morphological theory and method of narrative analysis in a non-Russian and non-European culture. The study addresses two, folkloristically important, questions: (i) a cross-cultural application of Propp's morphological-structural approach, and (ii) testing the validity of the method across different types of folktales. The famous and celebrated collection of folktales by J. Hinton Knowles *Folk-Tales of Kashmir* (London, 1893) is used as the basic data to answer these questions. This celebrated collection is not only a collection of fairy tales, but contains all kinds of narrative types, traditionally labelled by folklorists as novellas, legends, animal tales, religious tales etc. Because of its diversity the data qualified for the application of Propp's structural theory across various types of folktales.

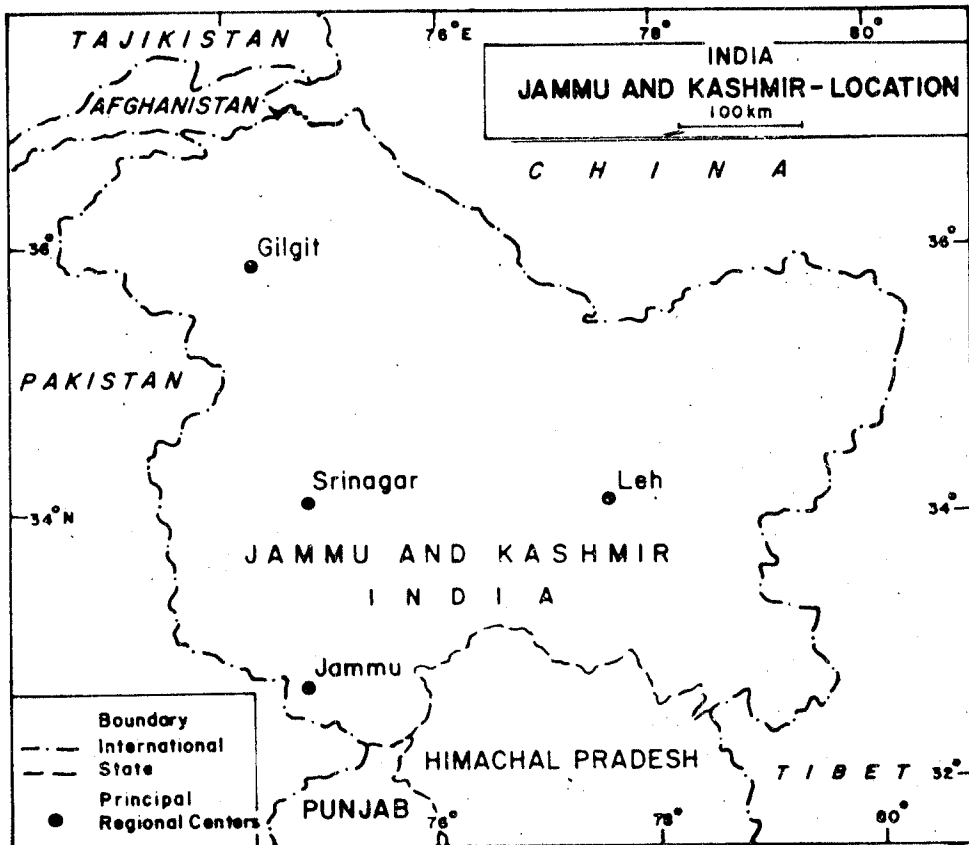
As regards the morphology, the Kashmiri folktales are highly structured and show similar formal complexities as one notices in *märchen*, or any other type of narrative with similar properties. However, as expected, morphological oicotypization was quite evident in the structure of these tales.

My own theoretical background, which is structuralist has kept me strictly within the boundaries of my self-imposed structural objectives. At times, it was tempting to take recourse to paradigmatic analysis or psychological interpretations. However, the present study did not provide enough scope for these exercises. In this respect, then, I follow Propp's footsteps and limit my analysis strictly to the framework of the form of these tales.

This study has seven Chapters or parts. Chapter one introduces the historical and geographical background of the Valley of Kashmir and its surrounding areas. It also gives a vivid description of the various ethnic groups, their linguistic affinities and socio-cultural conditions. These socio-cultural factors that contribute to the processes of acculturation and identification in cultures, might have significant bearing upon the pattern of Kashmir folklore in general, and folktale in particular, are also discussed in detail in this Chapter.

Attempts are made in Chapter Two to trace the tradition of Kashmiri oral narrative. The special status of the folktale genre in the overall folkloric phenomenon of Kashmir is also briefly discussed. This Chapter also provides a historical chronology of the available literature on Kashmiri oral narrative.

In Chapter Three, an attempt has been made to describe a sound classificatory and an analytic unit, in view of the needs of structural analysis, particularly the syntagmatic structural analysis of oral narrative. Furthermore, this Chapter also discusses briefly the growth and development of structural theory and the method or methods it very strongly



Chapter I

KASHMIR : A CULTURAL AND LINGUISTIC AREA

1. Historical Background

Jammu and Kashmir, the northern most State of the Indian Union, covers an area of 86,024 square miles. Conveniently called by the shorter term "Kashmir", the State includes, besides the Valley, the areas of Jammu, Ladakh, Baltistan, Gilgit, Hunza and Nagar.¹ With its 4,410,000 inhabitants, it has the lowest density of population in India.

Unlike the plains of the Panjab and Uttar Pradesh, Kashmir is mostly mountainous, "rising in several tiers from the plains in the south, to the high altitude valleys and peaks in the north, enclosing some of the loftiest inhabited hamlets in the world".² Obviously having such diversity in physical features, the State has interesting variations in its soil, climate, vegetation and the people, who inhabit it. This diversity has influenced and largely shaped the history of the State.

Because of its geographical position in Asia, Kashmir, commands a strategic importance, touching, as it does, the borders of Pakistan, Russia and China. Kashmir has since ancient times been the halting place of caravans travelling on the old Central Asian trade route.

The valley of Kashmir is approximately 84 miles in length and 25 miles in breadth. Range after range of mountains guard the valley from the outer world. The mountain snows feed the river Jhelum,³ which flows through the valley and the city of Srinagar.

1.1. Early Kashmir

Apart from the myth of 'Satisar', about the origin of Kashmir Valley, prehistoric explorations in the valley have revealed the occurrence of the quaternary glacial cycles. Deposits excavated in the valley can be equated with the similar deposits in the Sohan

valley. "But", observes Ray, "no paleolithic tool has, however, been found in the valley so far and human occupation in Pleistocene Kashmir has still to be found".⁴ However the recent excavations at the famous historical site of Burzhom⁵ has established beyond doubt the existence of neolithic culture in Kashmir. The deposits of ground and polished stone axes, hoes, pestles and bone implements found at the site can be compared with similar deposits found in Drangi, Mohenjo-daro and Sirkap at Taxila. "Once we leave this arc", argues Bamzai, "not a single stone axe had been found for hundreds of miles in all directions until two turned up in Navesa in the Ahmednagar District... in the south of Krihsna, Amravati and south Arcot Districts, these implements are found in abundance. There must be some relation between this culture in the north and south of India."⁶

Who were these people, where did they come from, are questions to which answer is yet to be found, although these are and have been widely discussed. In the absence of any other reliable record of the early settlers of the valley, it would be academically purposeful to follow the line of linguistic affinities of the people of the valley and the surrounding areas. Linguistic evidences and other factors, indicate, that Kashmiris form a branch of the race which brought the language of the Indo-Aryans into India. The various dialects, spoken by the people of Baltistan, Dardistan and Kashmir Valley are closely related languages belonging to the Dardic group of languages. Dr. Grierson's survey of these languages has proved, tentatively, that Kashmiri has a Dard base and is therefore one of the independent (the other two being Iranian and Indo-Aryan) branches of Indo-European family.⁷ However, much more work remains to be done before firm conclusions can be drawn regarding the early settlers of the Valley and their linguistic affiliations.

The only authentic source of the early history of Kashmir is the Rajatarangini written in Sanskrit by Kalhana in A.D. 1148-49. "Kalhana begins his chronicles with an account of King Gonanda I, whose initial year of reign he places in 653 Kali, the traditional date of the coronation of King Yudhisthira, the Pandava leader."⁸ It is claimed that he was a relation of Jarasanda, the king of Magadha. Kalhana also deals briefly with the three successors of Gonanda I, and then abruptly closes the chapter with the following comment: "Thirty five kings who followed him have been immersed in the ocean of oblivion, their names and deeds have perished through the destruction of records".⁹

It is with the account of king Ashoka that we are able to trace a firm historical background in the chronicle. Ashoka was followed by his son Jaluka. He is said to have been a very popular hero. He fought the Bactrian Greeks and cleared the land of oppressors. After Jaluka, Damodara succeeded him and after Damodara, Kashmir was subjugated by Kushans. This dynasty flourished around A.D. 150. Hushka, Jushka and Kanishka were the note worthy rulers produced by this dynasty. During Kanishka's reign, Buddhism

especially the Mahayanist doctrine made a new epoch in the history of Buddhist Kashmir. This doctrine was born and developed in Kashmir. Kanishka was succeeded by his sons, Vasudeva and Huvishka, and their rule came to an end in about 178 A.D., when Nagas¹⁰ conquered Kashmir. Among Nagas the king Mihirakula was a cruel tyrant, taking fiendish delight, like the Nero of Rome, in acts of brutality. Kalhana sums up the character of this cruel king in the following words: "A cruel king whose approach became known by the sight of vultures, crows and the like, eager to feed on those being massacred by his encircling army".¹¹ Mihirakula ended his life by committing suicide and his son Baka succeeded him. After Baka six kings ruled Kashmir, who according to Kalhana, were of "different lines of descent". During this period, great chaos and troubles prevailed in the valley and subsequently king Vikramaditya, under the name of Pratapditya I ascended the throne of Kashmir.¹² Pratapditya's reign, judged politically, has been one of the most prosperous times in the early history of Kashmir. Among the descendants of Pratapditya, the last to rule was Jayendra, who was without a son and on his death the throne remained vacant for sometime. As a result one of the obedient ministers of Jayendra was proclaimed the king of Kashmir, who, it is said, after ruling the country for a short period abdicated in favour of Meghavahana, who was a descent of the Gonanda dynasty.

With the accession of Durlabhavardhan (625-661 A.D.) to the throne of Kashmir, we come to the rule of imperial Karkotas. It is believed that Heun-Tsiang visited the Valley during the reign of Durlabhavardhan. Although the chronology of the Karkota dynasty is a long one, but it produced some versatile kings, who deserve mention here. One of the best kings of this dynasty who ruled Kashmir was Lalitaditya (724-761 A.D.). His reign of thirty seven years was marked by exploits of conquest and many expeditions, for he was essentially a tireless warrior and a great conqueror. "For rivers" observes Kalhana about the ambitious mind of Lalitaditya, "which have set out from their own region, the ocean is the limit, but no where is there a limit for those who are frankly aspiring to be conquerors".¹³

Lalitaditya gave wide extent to his dominions. He build his ephemeral, vast empire which included practically the whole of India. "His extensive conquests made the kingdom of Kashmir for the time being, the most powerful empire that India had seen since the days of the Guptas."¹⁴ Besides being a great conqueror, Lalitaditya was a great builder as well. The famous Sun temple at Martand, known as the "Cyclops of the East", and which occupies a very high place among the architectural wonders of the world was built by Lalitaditya.

Lalitaditya was succeeded by a number of weak kings till Avantivarman (855 A.D.) ascended the throne. Avantivarman's reign appears to have brought a period of consolidation and prosperity for the kingdom, which had suffered considerably from internal troubles during the preceding reigns. Avantivarman was a just ruler, a great builder,¹⁵ and a good patron of scholarship. Yasaskara ruled Kashmir from 939-48 A.D. Kalhana presents a very favourable account of the wisdom of Yasaskara's administration. This was followed by the reign of queen Didda (950-972 A.D.) who became the regent of her child, Abhimanyu. Didda's early days of regency were full of troubles and risks. But in 981 A.D. after ascending the throne herself, Didda's direct rule brought to an end, the most uncertain period of Kashmir history. She ruled upto 1003 A.D. After half a century of ruthless government, this great queen passed away quietly, and the crown passed on to the new dynasty of Loharas.

During the reign of Loharas, Kashmir experienced the first organized Mohammadan invasion led by Mahamud Gazni, but the intense cold of the Valley obliged him to abandon his design of conquering Kashmir.¹⁶ Harsa, Susula and some other kings of the Lohara dynasty ruled Kashmir after Didda. But cracks had started appearing in the feeble political structure of the kingdom. Actually after Avantivarman's reign, "incessant feuds, civil wars and upheavals became rampant. Death, famine and pestilence stalked the land. There were feudal wars.... temples were destroyed, cities and towns were burnt; crops were damaged and there was murder and loot. There were also popular risings, court intrigues and assassinations, and kings were installed and dethroned in quick succession".¹⁷ Under these circumstances, it became impossible for the later feeble rulers to control the situation and uphold for long the falling political structure of the kingdom.

After the unsuccessful attempt of Mahamud Gazni to conquer the Valley, Kashmir had already started becoming a prey to adventurers who made many attempts to conquer the kingdom. Warlike tribes who had hitherto remained suppressed and submissive under the strong central rule started raising their heads. Kabul, Rajouri, Poonch, Kangra, Jammu, Kishtwar and Ladakh, annexed during the days of early Karkotas, one by one, started throwing off allegiance to the kings of Kashmir and became independent principalities. Petty chieftains now found opportunity to interfere directly with the affairs of the kingdom. Consequently a State divided against itself and resting on a shattered economy could not be expected to maintain itself for long.

When Kota Rani, the last Hindu ruler ascended the throne, Kashmir was invaded by Dulchu, the Tatar. She fought and defeated him. She also subdued Achala, but her own frustrated ministers betrayed her. For sometime, she tried her best to hold the crumbling walls of Kashmir kingdom, but failed.¹⁸

1.2. Medieval Kashmir

"Islam" writes Bamzai, 'entered the valley not as a result of foreign invasion but by a coup d'état from within the country'.¹⁹ Shah Mir who struck the last nail in the coffin of Hindu rule, became the first Muslim king of Kashmir. He ascended the throne under the title, Sultan Shamasuddin and became the founder of the Sultan dynasty of Kashmir which ruled Kashmir for over two hundred and twenty-two years.²⁰

Sultanate dynasty has a long chronology of kings, both popular and unpopular, just and tyrant. For instance, Sultan Shahab-ud-din is known as the "Lalitaditya of medieval Kashmir",²¹ Sultan Qutb-ud-din, a patron of learning and scholarship, Sultan Sikandar, unlike his father Qutb-ud-din, an idol breaker fanatic, and Sultan Alishah, a very weak and fickle-minded king, who was later dethroned by his younger brother, Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin, popularly known as Bad-Shah "great king". Bad-Shah brought an era of glory and prosperity to Kashmir. "Possessed of a broad and tolerant outlook", says Anand Koul, "and dominated with a desire to benefit mankind, he ruled with such equity and justice and did so much to improve the material prosperity of the people that one cannot fail to admire him... Zain-ul-Abidin was deservedly surnamed Badshah or Great King."²²

After Zain-ul-Abidin, his three sons fought a war of succession which resulted in great political chaos and uncertainty and defeated the very purpose of a peaceful and prosperous Kashmir for which Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin had stood and suffered all along his life. The successors of Zain-ul-Abidin ruled the kingdom amidst political, economic and religious currents and cross-currents. Consequently, finding an opportunity, the feudal lords started raising their heads. They eventually organized themselves under the leadership of Kazi Chak (who was later enthroned as Sultan Ismail Shah II) who captured the throne of Kashmir in 1538-40 A.D. and laid the foundations of the Chak rule²³ in the Valley.

Mughals had failed to conquer Kashmir till the times of Yusuf Shah Chak. It was Akbar, who conquered Kashmir and made it a province of the great Mughal empire.

Jahangir had been in love with the natural beauty of the Valley since his childhood. Kishtwar, which was maintaining its independent status, even after Akbar conquered Kashmir, was subjugated during Jahangir's reign. Shahjahan's reign was mostly dominated by a good deal of building activity. Aurangzeb appointed no less than fourteen governors for running the affairs of the Valley, but as things deteriorated in Delhi, Mughal grip started becoming loose over this hill State. In 1753, Ahmad Shah Abdali, was invited to invade Kashmir, who accepted the invitation and annexed Kashmir to his Afghan kingdom.

In inviting Ahmad Shah Abdali to invade Kashmir and bring it under the direct control of Kabul, Kashmiris had mistaken Afgans as civilized and humane emperors. Afgans who ruled the Valley for over sixty seven years reduced it to the lowest depths of penury, degradation and slavery. Consequently, as a result of the tyrannical rule of the Afghan rulers, the people were obliged to seek assistance from one of the newly emerged powers of the Panjab, the Sikhs.

Jabbar Khan, destined to be the last Afghan governor of Kashmir, would probably have proved a successful ruler, had not the political upheavals in Afganistan and the Panjab abruptly terminated his short rule of four months. Jabbar Khan was defeated by Sikhs in the famous battle of Pir Panchal, and Kashmir, once again "after a long period of about five centuries passed from the rule of the Muslims to that of the Hindu Kings".²⁴

After establishing themselves firmly in the Valley, Sikh rulers extended the domains of their kingdom by annexing Ladakh and strategically important surrounding areas, which had become independent principalities soon after the fall of Mughal rule in Kashmir. With the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, there was a widespread anarchy in the whole of Panjab - the home of Sikh rule. British influence in the northern most areas of the country had also started spreading because of the continuous expansion of the Russian activities in central Asia. As a result of these developments, British interference in the affairs of Panjab and the surrounding States became more frequent and direct.

Long before Kashmir came under the rule of the Dogras in 1846, the British had cast their covetous eyes on the territories lying beyond it. During the days of the breakup of the Sikh State, British managed to take into confidence Gulab Singh,²⁵ the trusted lieutenant of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and signed a treaty²⁶ with him. This treaty transferred Kashmir to the ruler of Jammu and thus a new State of Jammu and Kashmir was formed.

Maharaja Gulab Singh maintained the independent identity of the State, inspite of frequent British interference. He made many administrative reforms. "Gulab Singh", writes Lawrence "brought the principle of personal rule to perfection and showed to people that he could stand by himself".²⁷ After Gulab Singh's death, his only surviving son, Ranbir Singh ascended the throne and successfully carried over some of the administrative reforms which his father had envisaged implementing. The agricultural wealth of the valley increased tremendously during the reign of Ranbir Singh.

Maharaja Ranbir Singh died in 1885 and his son Pratap Singh succeeded him. British again started interfering in the internal affairs of the State, therefore, conduct of internal administration and the watch and ward of its northern and eastern frontiers became directly the concern of the British Indian Government.

1.3. Modern Kashmir

Maharaja Pratap Singh breathed his last in September 1925. Having no male child of his own, he was succeeded by his nephew, Hari Singh.

In the beginning of his rule, Maharaja Hari Singh was very popular among his subjects but soon lost the confidence of the people because of his favorites and over indulgence in the cheap pleasures of life.²⁸

Maharaja Hari Singh lived in an era of universal political consciousness. The scene of India was changing fast with the launching of 'non-cooperation movement' under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. The whole country was passing through a wave of political awakeness. The people of Kashmir, inspired by the movement launched by Gandhi against the British Raj, had started expressing their discontent against the monarchy. Sheikh Abdullah and his associates formed the National Conference and launched the 'Quit Kashmir' movement. Eventually after the British left the country, India was divided. Pakistan appeared on the political map of the sub-continent. All these developments were very much responsible for shaping the coming events in Kashmir.

In 1947, Kashmir was invaded by tribal raiders backed by Pakistani army. Indian forces, for the first time after independence went into action in the northern borders of the country. The expansionist designs of the Pakistan army were frustrated and the dream of Pakistani rulers to annex Kashmir was shattered once and for all.

In 1947, the people of Kashmir acceded to India and since then Kashmir has, as an integral part of the Indian Republic, made overall progress in all directions.

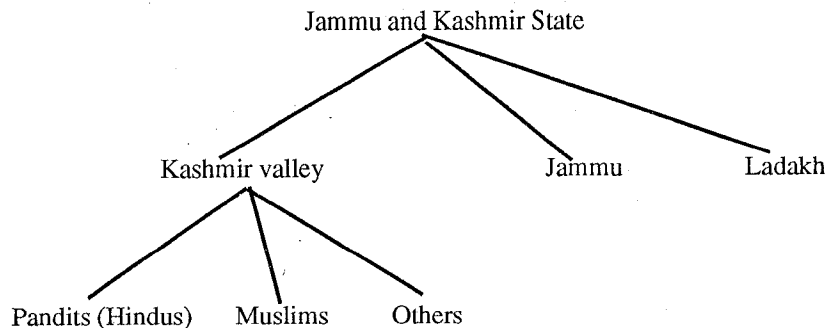
Surveying the valley of Kashmir and its surrounding areas in historical retrospect, one is apt to notice the chequered nature of Kashmir's historical scene. This chequered history of war and conquest has influenced other aspect of social life in Kashmir. Kashmir was ruled by people, coming from West, East, North and South; naturally they brought with them their own cultural traits and planted them in the fertile soil of the Valley. This made Kashmir a kind of 'melting pot' of various cultures. In spite of the melting pot acculturation process, a very strong element of identification is noticeable in the valley, which we shall discuss in the following sections.

1.4. Cultural Background

In the preceding sections, we traced, although summarily, the history of the Valley of Kashmir and its surrounding areas. It should be clear now, that the State of Jammu &

Kashmir, as we see it at present, is a very recent development. In the past, Kashmir Valley has been a political-geographical and essentially a separate cultural entity. This is true in the case of Jammu and Ladakh too, - two other entities which together with the Valley form the present political concept of the "State of Jammu and Kashmir". Since these cultural divisions are, besides geographical, linguistic in nature, it would be of academic interest, as far as the examination of the data is concerned, to follow the linguistic divisions (which however coincide with the cultural and geographical divisions) in studying the cultural background of the people of Jammu, Ladakh and other surrounding areas in general and the Valley of Kashmir in particular. Our concern here is mainly with Kashmir valley, where Kashmiri is being spoken and where we derive out data from. Therefore, in the interests of research, it becomes obligatory to study the cultural background of the place in depth and detail. The other two entities i.e. Jammu and Ladakh could be ignored as both these regions are linguistically different and therefore not being covered in the present study.²⁹ But for the purposes of delineating the elements of acculturation and identification, it would be better to outline some of the cultural features of these two regions and other similar ethnic groups (which are either nomadic or are inhabitants of "transition zones"). Therefore it would be meaningful to survey the major cultural aspects of the people of Jammu and Kashmir State under the following heads: (i) Kashmir Pandits

- (Hindus), Muslims, and others, (ii) Jammu and (iii) Ladakh:



1.5. Kashmir Valley:

The valley of Kashmir nestled securely among the Himalayan ranges of mountains, is approximately 84 miles in length and 25 miles in breadth.³⁰ The average height of the valley is 6000 ft. above the sea, which makes the climate of the valley like any European country, generally cold. The valley and its surrounding areas experience a heavy snowfall and biting cold during winter, and refreshing breeze and pleasant sunshine during spring season. In this valley lie some of the largest fresh-water lakes of India. The river Jhelum

('Vetasta' or 'Vyath') flows through the city of Srinagar and serves it for navigation purposes.

1.5.1. Pandits (Hindus)

The people of the Valley can generally be studied under three main heads: (i) Kashmiri Pandits (Hindus) (ii) Muslims (iii) others i.e. people who have recently migrated and settled in the Valley such as Sikhs etc.

Kashmiri Pandits, who are all Hindus form a distinct class of their own and are considered to be the purest specimen of the ancient Aryan settlers in the valley.³¹ They are popularly known as Pandits, scholars, because of their educational, literary, and scholarly achievements. One of the typical features of present Pandit society is the absence of non-Brahmin castes in it. That means, all Kashmiri Pandits are Brahmins,³² and the caste system as is found among various Hindu groups in India, is absent. It is presumed that before the advent of Islam in the early thirteenth century, the population of Kashmir was not entirely Brahmin. Names of several other sects like "Nishads", "Damaras", "Bhikshas" etc. are found in Rajatarangini. It is generally believed that during numerous political vicissitudes, the people of the valley suffered at the hands of political prosecutors, and consequently all other sects vanished leaving only one Hindu class, known as Brahmins. This might, perhaps, explain the absence of non-Brahmin castes in the present structure of the Kashmiri Hindu society.

In terms of numbers, Kashmiri Brahmins or Pandits constitute a very small but highly educated community. This community has produced a galaxy of authors, scholars, administrators and politicians. In the area of Sanskrit poetics, philosophy and religious thought, Kashmiri Brahmins have contributed enormously, and the names like Abhinavagupta, Kalhana, Bilhana, Mamatacharya, Kshemendra and Gunadya are of pan-Indian fame.

1.5.2. Muslims

Muslims are a majority community in the Valley. Historically it is believed that only few adventurers and their families came from outside, but later Islam became the dominant religion, and gradually the ranks of its followers swelled mostly as a result of conversions. Many historical legends are still prevalent which tell the story of these conversions, and the beginnings of the domination of Islam as the main religion in the Valley. Such legends depict a variety of pictures of religious bigotry, of mass conversions, of murder, of compulsion, of persuasion and of opportunism. Although there might be very little

historical truth in most of such legends, nevertheless they do portray in detail, and with emphasis the changes that were taking place in the valley at that time. If folklore, particularly oral narrative is supposed to have the potential of reconstructing the socio-psychological history (the true history)³³ of a cultural group, then one cannot afford to ignore such legends.

In spite of such historical vicissitudes however, the influence of Islamic culture benefited the people of the Valley in many ways. For instance many small industries of art and craft, which Kashmir is famous for, are the results of Islamic influences. Numerous Muslim saints and dervises propagated their religion through the preachings of the purest and truest doctrines of Islam. This considerably influenced the religious and philosophical thoughts of the Kashmiris. The Persian language and literature, with its Islamic background, enriched the cultural treasure of Kashmir, particularly folklore. One finds a variety of Islamic themes and motifs either independently knitted into some items of folklore or implanted very artistically into the already existing items of the original settlers. The Muslim population of the Valley is, as elsewhere in India, divided into Suni and Shia sects, the former being in a majority. Like Kashmiri Hindus, Muslims of the valley also do not have any caste system, although some of the professional castes are considered to be prestigious.³⁴ Since most of the Muslims, it is believed, are basically converted Hindus, they still retain some of the Hindu surnames like Dar, Bhatt, Kitchlu, Kachru, Pandit etc. It is presumed that Muslims might have retained some of the Hindu customs and ceremonies after conversion to Islam, but there is very little trace of such customs now.

1.5.3. Sikhs and Others

Sikhs are another small community settled in the Valley. Before 1947, they were, chiefly concentrated in the Muzaffarabad district (which is now an occupied territory of Pakistan). Recently they have migrated to other parts of the Valley. It is believed that "most of them are originally Brahmins imported by Raja Sukh Jiwan and were converted to Sikhism in the time of Maharaja Ranjit Singh".³⁵ Sikhs of the Kashmir valley are bilinguals; they speak Panjabi (or a dialect of Panjabi) and Kashmiri. Most of them are agriculturists.

Among the other notable ethnic groups which deserve mention here are the Dards of Dardistan, a mountainous region in the north of the Valley. Dards are an Aryan race and are said to have been followers of Buddhism before their conversion to Islam. Dards have a distinct social organization, made up of the following castes: Rennu (rulers), Shins (priests), Yashkun (agriculturists), Kremin and Dum (menials). After conversion to Islam Dards also seem to have got divided into Sunis and Shia sects.

1.6. Jammu

The hilly tract extending to the plains of the Panjab from the snowy mountains bordering the Kashmir valley on the south is called "Duggar Desha". It is the home of the Dogras, a hardy people, belonging to the Aryan race and speak a language known as Dogri, which belongs to the Pahari group of the Indo-Aryan, but very much influenced by the surrounding languages like Kashmiri, Shirazi and the languages of the "transition zones". Unlike Kashmiri Pandits, Dogras have a fine network of castes and subcastes, as one finds in the middle lands of India. Their ceremonies and festivals also have more affinity with the plains-people of India than the Kashmiris, or the hilly settlers of the Valley. Dogras are very famous as a martial race. Cultural contacts between the people of Kashmir valley and the Dugar Desha seem to have been ancient.

1.7. Ladakh

In the north east of the Valley, is the "magic land" of Ladakh or "little Tibet". It is the land of the Bhuttas, religious followers of Dalai Lama. Ladakhis are a Tibeto-Burman race and speak a language which belongs to the Tibeto-Burman group of languages. Their physical features are less Aryan and more Mongolite, and quite different from the people living in Kashmir valley, or the Jammu province. There is virtually nothing common between the people of Ladakh and the Kashmir valley except that they are bound politically together. Ladakhis have a distinct culture of their own. For instance, besides language and physical features, Ladakhis have a polyandrous system of marriage; they follow a social organization of their own which is made up of four main groups like Gyalpo (king) Jirak (bureaucracy) Mungrik (cultivators) and Ringam (menials). Most of the Ladakhis are Buddhists and follow the ancient practice of Buddhism. Due to recent Islamic influences some Ladakhis have been converted to Islam.

The region to the north east of the valley is called Baltistan and is inhabited by a people of the Tibetan race called Baltis. Being situated in between Ladakh and Dardistan a sort of transition zone, there has been a mixture of the two races, resulting in mixed linguistic and cultural features.³⁶

1.8. Acculturation and Identification

"Acculturation" writes Mazumdar, "involves transmission of culture traits from one culture to another, through culture contacts or through contacts between bearers of two cultures".³⁷ Such being the nature of acculturation, it should be highly important to discuss,

although briefly, the extent to which such transmissions of various culture traits has taken place among various ethnic groups in the Kashmir valley, particularly in view of its historical and geographical peculiarities. Of equal importance, though very much related to the concept of acculturation and in a way inseparable from it, is the concept of identification, or those traits which a culture retains as identification markers of their culture despite acculturation. Our task here will be to outline, summarily the features of both with reference to two main ethnic groups - Hindus and Muslims living in the valley.

In the preceding sections, we have briefly sketched the historical background of the valley and the ethnic groups who inhabit it. It is hardly possible to believe that in view of the chequered historical background and the changes which have taken place in and around the valley from time to time, the forces of acculturation were either slow or inactive. Infact such forces, diffusionistic in nature, have been active and the results are quite significant. But at the same time the struggle for maintaining in one way or the other, one's own cultural traditions has been equally forceful and active. Needless to say that acculturation and the forces of identification are to be seen besides various cultural traits, in the artistic expressions such as folklore, particularly oral narrative which undoubtedly is one of the important cultural expressions, and as such does not only help in deciphering markers of acculturation and identification but also helps to study the item itself, if markers of such cultural forces are taken into consideration.

Before proceeding further, it becomes obligatory to outline the areas in which acculturation takes place, or which in other words, are more prone to these phenomena. "It is a familiar observation", says Park, ... "that artifacts, the traits of material culture are more easily diffused and more rapidly assimilated than similar items of non-material culture - political institutions or religious practices for examples".³⁸ Without plunging into the pitfalls of controversy about material and non-material culture, suffice it to say that when two cultures come into contact, cultural traits of one group tend to influence other group, irrespective of the dominant or less dominant role of the group or groups. This exchange usually takes place more easily in material culture than in non-material culture and becomes more meaningful and important when the cultural groups under contact belong to two different races.

Historically the original settlers of Kashmir valley, as outlined in the preceding sections, were not conquered by Muslims by an invasion from outside, but by a *coup d'etat* from within. Consequently religion followed the political power and its manoeuvrings. There can be no two opinions on the fact that in the Islamic system the concepts of State (politics) and Church (religion) are inseparable, while as in the Hindu thought they are two separate entities, although not opposed to each other, but, at the same time can coexist

separately. Therefore political subjugation automatically led to religious persecution in accordance with the Islamic concepts. Those who succumbed are outside the domain of the present discussion. Only those who survived and tried to maintain their traditions have undoubtedly passed through acculturation and at the same time maintained their identification.

Linguistically Kashmiri belongs to the Dardic group of languages and has since ages assimilated Indo-Aryan or Sanskritic elements due to close cultural contacts with the "middle-India" people, as we shall see in the following sections. Suffice it to say here, that after the Muslim cultural wave began its forceful influence, Sanskritic elements tended to disappear and were gradually replaced to some extent by Perso-Arabic elements, with the result one finds today a large number of Perso-Arabic words with their various semantic shades in Kashmiri language. This has to some extent, as is expected, influenced the phonological, morphological and syntactic pattern of the language. Side by side with this linguistic acculturation, one does not fail to recognize the identifying markers of Sanskritic origin in the language. This is evident in two dialects - Muslim dialect and Hindu dialect - of Kashmiri, particularly at the lexical level. Detailed description, as shall be seen in the following sections, will show it very clearly that in spite of acculturation, linguistic identification has been, and still is very forceful among both the dominant cultural groups of the valley.

Kashmiri Hindus consume non-vegetarian food,³⁹ which I believe, is not due to Muslim influence and hence not a result of acculturation, precisely because there are many Hindu Brahmin ethnic groups in India, who consume non-vegetarian food⁴⁰ and who have never been, at any time in their history under direct Muslim contact, or domination. Therefore, the hypothesis that the Pandits of Kashmir might have begun consuming non-vegetarian foods as a result of Muslim influence needs further investigation. Even if the hypothesis were proved, one finds surprisingly, a variety of identification markers in the cooking and preparations of the Hindus. For example asafoetida is not being used by Muslims; preparations which Hindus make are not normally to be found in the menus of Muslims; milk and mutton are not cooked together by Hindus, as it is done by Muslims. Muslims, especially during festivals and gatherings, share their food in the same plate while as Hindus never allow it.

Like food, dress and homestead of the ethnic groups also present an interesting picture of acculturation and identification. Although the distinction between the dress of a Hindu male and Muslim male is now disappearing fast due to the adoption of western style of dress. The style of putting on "dastar"⁴¹ (head gear) used to be different. Similarly the "pheran" (the native gown) of a Hindu and a Muslim used to be different at the bottom⁴²

and the neck. But surprisingly the dress of a Muslim woman and of a Hindu woman is still entirely different.

Among homesteads and household articles one finds a number of identifying markers. For instance, Hindus use brown clay and Muslims greyish-blue for white-washing their homes. Hindus invariably use brass ware in their households. The Muslims prefer copper ware. Hindus wash their main door step (brāṇḍ) daily and decorate it with coloured designs on festival occasions. No such thing is done by Muslims.

Hindus and Muslims do not share any traits in their respective festivals or ceremonies.⁴³ Hindus follow their own ceremonial calendar which is more or less like the "middle Indian" Hindus, and Muslims adhere to a system which is directly related to the Islamic world. Kinship and marriage systems of both the ethnic groups are entirely different.

It is interesting to note that the forces of acculturation and identification have been equally active in oral and literary expressions of these two ethnic groups. Oral poetry and narrative in Kashmir, present vivid pictures of such acculturation and identification. It shall not be possible for us, for lack of space, to present all such pictures here. For exemplification we shall take a 'birth song' concerned with child-birth but also sung ritualistically on other ceremonies except death. This song, as the following analysis will show, belongs to the Hindus and has been adapted by Muslims. In this process of adaptation, some changes have been made in the song to conform it to the cultural or religious requirements of the group. While the adaptation of an item, which is alien to the group, shows process, or results of acculturation, the changes are to be viewed as excellent examples of identification. A portion of the original song runs like this:

"Vyanāyak tsōram t̄i athvār darimay,

kor̄i may barkhordāriy nāv,

ḍ :Than ryatan kruṭh kyah dorumay,

n ḍ vimi ryat̄i zav lalibon,

than̄i yeli pyoham ran pyav kor̄i may,

Jōtisan t̄i panDitan ron̄i may sāl"⁴⁴

The Muslim version is as follows:"

"cānē zenay āthwār dorimay,
 korimay dilijān jigro nāv;
 ɔ : Than rytan kruṭh kyāh dorumay;
 n ɔ vimi ryatī zāv gulzār
 thanī yeli pyōham hamudāh porumay,
 kanan korumay dīni islām;
 dīni islāmuk lōl kyāh bor ī may,
 korimay dilijān jigro nāv"⁴⁵

The identification markers in this example are so clear that it hardly needs any elaborate explanation. However, it is interesting to note that, in the Muslim version of the song all those lexical items and sentences which are associated with Hindu rituals or ceremonies or which have any Hindu religious connotations have been replaced with suitable items from Muslim culture.

Oral narrative is not an exception to this phenomena, nor have been the written literary works of Kashmiri writers free from such markers. Although, forceful elements of acculturation have been active since early times and still are, in the writings of Kashmiri writers; yet the identification markers at the level of themes, forms, lexical choices etc. have also been there and still persist.

"When people of different races and divergent cultures", observes Park, "seek to live together within the limits of the same local economy, they are likely to live for a time in relations, which I have described symbiotic rather than social ... They live, in short, in physical contiguity, but in more or less complete moral isolation --- people which has for any reason sought to find a place in the economic order of an established society and at the same time maintain a cultural tradition that was alien to it".⁴⁶ This is precisely, what has happened in the valley of Kashmir in the process of acculturation. Each group in spite of acculturation has tried and maintained its identification mark at all levels of cultural expressions.

Folklore particularly oral narrative as indicated above, is an important and very forceful cultural expression. Because of its oral nature, it is prone to diffusion and transmission and hence to the forces of acculturation and identification. Studying this

aspect of oral narrative or folktales, is not the aim of this kind of study.⁴⁷ Therefore we have not touched the subject here. But our aim in delineating the elements of acculturation and identification at some levels of culture, was to show that if identification has been so strong at various levels of cultural expressions it should equally be strong at the level of folklore items.

1.9. Kashmiri Language And its Linguistic Affinity

As said earlier the Kashmiri language is spoken in the Kashmir province and some surrounding areas of the State of Jammu and Kashmir. The present boundaries of the state comprise 0.81% of India's population.⁴⁸ Kashmiri is also spoken in a small area in West Pakistan, but the number of Kashmiri speakers in Pakistan is not available. The total number of Kashmiri speakers on the Indian side varies from 3,174,684 to 4,325,961 (Census of India 1981). It is difficult to say exactly the number of Kashmiri speakers unless reliable figures are made available both from India and Pakistan.

The inhabitants of Kashmir call their language 'kə:ʃur' and the country 'kə ʃ i : r'. In Hindi-Urdu and other Indian languages, however, the term 'Kāshmiri' or 'Kaśhmiri' are used. In English a great variety of spellings has been used in transliterating the word Kashmiri. For example note the following: *Kaschemiri*, *Cashmiri*, *Cashmeeree*, etc.⁴⁹

1.9.1. Kashmiri and the Dardic Family

The term Dard (Dardic for the inhabitants of Dardistan) has a long history and is found in the purānās and also in Kalhana's Rajatarangini. In Sanskrit, the word Dard means, 'mountain'.⁵⁰ In some works including Linguistic Survey of India, the term Pisacha languages for the so called Dardic group has been used as a cover term, used earlier in Sanskrit to refer to these languages.

The Dardic family is traditionally divided into three main language groups,—Kāfir-group, Khōwār-group, and Dard group.⁵¹

The position of Kashmiri in the Dard family and its origin continues to be discussed and no conclusive answer has yet been given. The question was originally raised by Grierson,⁵² who claimed that linguistically Kashmiri holds a peculiar position as it has some formal features which show its Dardic characteristics and many other features, which it shares with the Indo-Aryan languages, such as Panjabi, Hindi etc. Chatterji has made the following observation on the question:

"As a language, Kashmiri, at least in its basic stratum, belongs to the Dardic section of the Aryan or Indo-Iranian. Possibly one section of the Aryans who came to India before 1000 B.C., and who spoke dialects very much like the language of the Rig-veda, but with certain special characteristics (which later gave rise to the Dardic branch of Aryan) became established in the valley of Kashmir, and in the surrounding mountainous tracts; and very early, possibly from after the Vedic age, Brahmanical Aryans with their Indo-Aryan 'spoken' Sanskrit (and subsequently with the Prakrits) came and settled in Kashmir and other Himalayan areas. In this way, Kashmiri, inspite of a Dardic substratum in its people and speech, became a part of the Sanskritic culture-world of India. The Indo-Aryan Prakrits and Apabhramsa from the midland and from the northern Punjab, profoundly modified the Dardic base of Kashmiri, so that one might say that the Kashmiri language is a result of a very overlaying of a Dardic base with Indo-Aryan elements."⁵³

Commenting on the observations made by Chatterji, Kachru says,

"But the question still remains: What is the linguistic evidence of the 'over-laying' of these elements ? There has been no significant research which would answer this question."⁵⁴

In the Kashmir Census Report of 1911, the following report appeared on this question:

"Kashmiri used to be hitherto treated as of Sanskritic origin. It has this time been grouped with Shina-Khowar according to the revised system of classification, but the claim locally urged, that, it is essentially Sanskritic language, persists; and in view of the historical fact, that, the valley of Kashmir, before its conversion to Islam, was wholly populated by Brahmans with their Shastric lore, that claim might merit consideration."⁵⁵

It is against this plea of "reconsideration" of the 'Sanskritic origin' of Kashmiri, that Grierson presents some data, so that the question of Kashmiri may be decided purely on scientific basis rather than on the grounds of sentiment. He remarks:

" the Pisacha languages, which include the Shina-Khowar group occupy a position intermediate between the Sanskritic languages of India proper and the Eranian languages farther to their west. They thus possess many features, that are common to them and to the Sanskritic languages, But they also possess features, peculiar to themselves, and others in which they agree rather with languages of the Eranian family ... The language (Kashmiri) possesses nearly all the features that are peculiar to Pisacha, and also those in which Pisacha agrees with Eranian."⁵⁶

The main points, according to Grierson, which separate Kashmiri from the Indo-Aryan languages are given below. This is based on how the items of Sanskrit stock function in Kashmiri and how, in this respect, it differs from the other languages of the subcontinent.

- (1) lack of voiced aspirates in Kashmiri
- (2) "confusion between cerebral and dental letters;"
- (3) "consonantal epenthesis; i.e., the change in a consonant under the influence of vowel or semivowel;"
- (4) aspiration of stops in the final position;
- (5) no vowel change or gemination of Prakrit borrowings in Kashmiri
- (6) in the environment V + V, t is not dropped;
- (7) /n/ is "liable to elision";
- (8) /r/ preceding another consonant is dropped;
- (9) /a/ as an indefinite marker
- (10) the presence of a large number of post-positions in Kashmiri, which are peculiar to Pisacha;
- (11) numeral system is typically Pisacha;
- (12) threefold distinction of demonstrative pronouns in Kashmiri;
- (13) three-term system of the past tense;
- (14) different word order.⁵⁷

It is widely claimed that lexically Kashmiri has a significant number of Sanskrit items, and therefore, is of Sanskritic origin. On this point Grierson argues:

"Finally, we come to the question of vocabulary. It is on this, that the claim that Kashmiri is a Sanskritic language is most strongly based, and, if languages were classed according to vocabulary, the claim would be difficult to controvert. But, it is well known that vocabulary cannot be used as basis of linguistic classification But, nevertheless, some of the commonest words for 'father', 'mother', and the like are closely allied to the corresponding Shina words, and are therefore of Pisacha origin ..."⁵⁸

This evidence finally leads Grierson to the following conclusion:

"Kashmiri is a mixed language, having as its basis a language of the Dard group of the Pisacha family allied to Shina. It has been powerfully influenced by Indian culture and literature, and the greater part of its vocabulary is now of Indian origin and is allied to that of Sanskritic Indo-Aryan languages of northern India. As, however, its basis, - in other words, its phonetic system, its accent, its syntax, its prosody, is Pisacha, it must be classed as such and not as a Sanskritic form of speech."⁵⁹

There is still great need of topological and comparative research on Kashmiri with the Indo-Aryan languages and with the Dardic languages, so that the problem of the affinity of Kashmiri can be settled. Question of sentiment, however much we may sympathise with them, must be kept aside in dealing with a purely scientific problem; and unless something new and substantial, based on scientific study, comes up on the affinity of Kashmiri language, we have but to follow Grierson strictly.

1.9.2. Dialects of Kashmiri

There has been no serious field work for dialect research on Kashmiri. Grierson's tentative analysis continues to form the basis for dialect classification. His statements about the dialects of Kashmiri are so vague that no special value can be attached to them.⁶⁰ The dialect division of Kashmiri comprises two types of groupings, i.e. (a) dialects which are "area defined"; and (b) dialects which are defined in terms of the "users".

1.9.2.1. Area-defined Dialects:

Census of India, 1961, lists the following as the area defined dialects of Kashmiri: Bunjwālī (550); Kistwārī (11,633); Pōgulī (9508); Shirāji-Kashmiri (19,978); Kēghani (152); Kohistānī (81).

Grierson on the other hand, claims that Kashmiri has, "Only one true dialect - Kishtwārī, and "a number of mixed dialects such as Pāguli, Sirāji of Doda and Rāmbani Farther east, over the greater part of the Riasi District of the State, there are more of these mixed dialects, about which nothing certain is known, except that the mixture is rather between Kashmiri and the Chibhālī form of Lahnda."⁶¹

It is possible that further dialect research will show that, in addition to the differences of village speech and the so called religious differences, Kashtwārī is perhaps the only dialect of Kashmiri. The so-called other dialects are only partially influenced by Kashmiri.⁶² Their areas cover the transition zones and thus naturally show some superficial influence of Kashmiri. It may not be difficult to show that these dialects have been equally influenced by Panjabi and its dialects and other neighboring languages.

1.9.2.2. Religious Dialects :

The dialects defined in terms of "users" are two; i.e., Hindu Kashmiri (HK); and Muslim Kashmiri (MK). This distinction, like the Serbo and Croation of Yugoslavia, continues to be followed in current literature; perhaps without much structural justification. Kachru argues, that, "the differences at the phonological level, which are based on the religion of the speech community, may be explained in terms of distribution and frequency of certain phonemes."⁶³ The other differences are essentially lexical and in some cases morphological. Lexically HK has borrowed from Sanskrit, and MK from Persian and Arabic. This distinction is traditional, and is maintained by Grierson and other later scholars.

The religion based difference is not evident in certain literary forms and specialized registers (legal and official). In such literary forms a type of Kashmiri has developed which cuts across religious boundaries. A special characteristics of such forms is a large number of Persian and/or Arabic loans. It is possible, however, that future research may show that there is no significant variation - other than lexical - in the languages as used by the two religious communities in the villages.

1.9.2.3. Writing Systems:

The traditional writing system associated with Kashmiri language is Sharada. The earliest literary works and other documents in the Kashmiri language are written in the Sharada script. It is believed, that this script developed around the 10th century. It seems that later, due to historical reasons, it slowly became obsolete though it did not die out. The older generation of priests of the Kashmiri Pandit community still use it in a restricted sense, especially for horoscope writing. It is claimed that the name of the Sharada alphabet is based on the traditional Sanskrit name of the Kashmir valley i.e. *Sārdābhūmi* or *Sārdāpīṭham*. The Sharda script is closely related to Devanagari or Nagari system used for most of the northern Indian languages. Devanagari is being used by Kashmiri Hindu community alternately with other scripts. A number of Kashmiri texts, both poetry and prose, are available in this script. It is presumed, that with some minor reforms, this script can be adopted very easily for Kashmiri, and it will have no defects as far as the readability is concerned. Some successful attempts have been made in this direction. Roman script, too, has been used frequently for Kashmiri. Many interesting and important works in Kashmiri and on Kashmiri are available in Roman script only. Perso-Arabic is being used both by Kashmiri Hindus and Muslims. After 1947, it has also been recognized as the official script for Kashmiri by the State Government. In recent years, it has gone through many reforms, in order to adopt it to the Kashmiri language, and is now widely used.

Kashmiri language has yet to draw attention it deserves, even in the area it is spoken as a native language. It is still not used widely for educational purposes, nor has it achieved the status of medium of instruction at the higher levels of education, or the official language status.

Notes and References :

1. The areas of Gilgit, Hunza and Nagar are presently part of occupied Kashmir territory the so-called "*Azad Kashmir*" of Pakistan.
2. P.N.K. Bamzai: *A History of Kashmir*, Delhi, 1962, p.1
3. Locally called "*Vetasta*" or "*Vyath*".
4. Sunil. C. Ray : *Early History and Culture of Kashmir*, 1957, p. 190.
5. For details see Bamzai, p. 52.

6. Based upon the theory that Dravidians were the original settlers of the Mohanjodaro - Harrapa ring, Bamzai suggests the possibility of cultural links between Dravidians and early settlers of the Valley. Since the theory of Dravidian migration to South due to Aryan conquest has become controversial, and is being rejected in the light of new findings, the suggestion that the early settlers of Kashmir valley had some cultural links with the Dravidians deserves further investigation. See Bamzai, p.53.
7. For detailed discussion on the language and the linguistic affinity of the Kashmiris, See the section on linguistic affinity.
8. Bamzai, p.58.
9. Later historians like Hussan in his *Tarikh - i - Kashmiri*, and Mullah Ahmed, who translated *Rajatarangini* into Persian, have attempted to trace the analogy of these lost kings. See, Bamzai, p.56.
10. Sometimes called *Naras* also. See Bamzai, p.57.
11. See *Rajatarangini*, I, p.291
12. Kalhana mentions that with the coming of Pratapaditya I, Kashmir came under the "rule of Harsa" and therefore it is presumed by historians that King Vikramaditya (Pratapaditya I) was the great Harsa Vikramaditya of Ujjain, who ruled in the first half of the sixth century A.D. See Bamzai, p.77.
13. For details see Bamzai, p.III.
14. R.C. Majumdar: *Ancient India*, p. 383.
15. Like Lalitaditya, Anantivarman, too, is famous for his buildings. The remains of the wonderful temples he built in Avantipur, a town founded by him and still known by his name, clearly unfold the artistic creations of the Avantivarman era.
16. Bamzai, p. 139.
17. Jawaharlal Handoo: "When Kota Rani Ruled Kashmir", *Indian Express*, New Delhi, Oct. 17, 1965.
18. *Ibid.*
19. Bamzai, p.291.

20. *Ibid*, p.291.
21. *Ibid*, p.292
22. Pandit Anand Koul: *Geography of Jammu and Kashmir State*, Calcutta 1913, p.34.
23. It is interesting to note that it was during the Chak rule that Kashmir had started becoming a pawn on the chessboard of Mughal politics.
24. Bamzai, p.422.
25. Although Gulab Singh was in service as a Warrior in the court of Ranjit Singh, he was given the province of Jammu "with the hereditary title of Raja" (Bamzai, p.292) as a reward for his distinguished service to the Lahore government.
26. This treaty is known in the history as the "Treaty of Lahore" (1846). In consideration of this treaty, Maharaja Gulab Singh paid rupees seventy lakhs (nānaKashahi) to the British for transferring Kashmir valley to the Jammu State. See Bamzai, p. 601.
27. Walter Lawrance: *The Valley of Kashmir*, London 1895, p.225.
28. See Bamzai, p.649.
29. Ladakhi spoken in Ladakh is a language of the Tibeto- Burman family and Dogri spoken in Jammu, a Pahari language of the Indo-Aryan family. For further details See George Grierson: *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. VIII, Part II, Calcutta, 1919.
30. See Bamzai, p.3.
31. See George Grierson: *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. VIII, Part II. 1919.
32. Kashmiri Pandits, however, are having a kind of caste distinction among themselves which is more or less profession based. For example "gōr" (priests) do not enjoy a respectable position in the present Pandit society. Marriage among "Kārkun" (non-priest) and "gōr" is not normally permitted. Similarly, among Kārkuns also, people who are professional cooks, tailors etc., irrespective of their economic position, do not enjoy respect in the society and usually marry in the families, who have been following, or follow, similar professions.
33. See, Linda Dégh: *Folktales and Society: Story Telling in a Hungarian Peasant community*; Bloomington, 1969.

34. For instance Sheikh, Sayyid and Pirzada are still considered to be the "Krams" (castes) of respectability among the Muslims.
35. See *Keys to Kashmir*, Srinagar, 1953, p.31.
36. Although the linguistic affinity of Balti, the language spoken by Balti people is still undecided, it shows features of Dardic and Tibeto-Burman languages.
37. Haridas, T. Mazumdar: *The Grammar of Sociology*, Bombay, 1959, p. 461.
38. Robert Ezra Park ed: *Race and Culture* (Essays in the Sociology of Contemporary Man), New York, 1950, pp, 47-48.
39. The Kashmiri Pandits consume only mutton, fish and some specific birds known as "šikār", Chicken and eggs were not eaten till recently. Even now these items pollute the traditional Kashmiri Pandit kitchen. Consumption of pork and beef are taboos. Note also, that Kashmiri Pandits till recently, did not eat onions and garlic in any form and these items even today are avoided on festival days, ritualistic and public feasts. All these items - chicken, eggs, onion and garlic - were considered items, that could be consumed only by non-Pandits, particularly Muslims.
40. In this context the following Brahmin groups deserve mention: Saraswat Brahmins of South - Western coastal belt, Brahmins of coastal Orissa, Bengal, Bihar, Himachal Pradesh and hills of Panjab etc.
41. Muslims used to tie the cloth clockwise and Hindus, anticlockwise. This was true also for wearing a Kashmiri "tsādar" (blanket).
42. Hindus used to keep a turn at fall known as "lad", while as Muslims used it without it.
43. For details and more discussions See Jawaharlal Handoo : *Kashmiri Aur Hindi ke Lookgiit : Ek Tulnaatmak Adhyayan*, (in Hindi) 1971, pp. 61-144.
44. In translation the lines mean: "On Sundays and 'Vyanāyak tsōram' fasts were observed, you were named dear son. For eight months (I) suffered, in the ninth month you were born. When you were born feasts were arranged, for the astrologers and priests."
45. Both the versions of this song and the theme of the discussion have been adopted from Jawaharlal Handoo, 1971, p.137-138.
46. Park. pp.48-49.

47. For instance studying such aspects of oral narrative or any other item of folklore could be of immense value to a student who is interested in the communication performance and stylistic aspects of folklore.
48. See "Language Tables" in the *Census of India* 1961, 1:2 - C (ii), Delhi 1964.
49. George A. Grierson: "Specimens of the Dardic or Pishacha language (including Kashmiri) in *Linguistic Survey of India*, 8:2, Calcutta, 1919. See also B.B Kachru: "Kashmiri and other Dardic Languages", in T.A. Sebeok ed. *Current Trends in Linguistics*, Vol. V. Paris, 1968, p. 284.
50. See Grierson, 1919, p.45.
51. These three groups are classified as follows:

(A) *Kāfir group*:

- (1) Bashgali (Kati)
- (2) Wai - ala (Wai)
- (3) Wasi - Veri (Veron)
- (4) Ashkund
- (5) Kalāsha - pasha
- (6) Gowār - bati (Narsāti)
- (7) Pashai (Laghmāni Deghni)
- (8) Bashkarik
- (9) Tirahi
- (10) Prasun
- (11) Gujari
- (12) Waigali
- (13) Zonjigali

(B) *Khōwār group*:

- (1) Chitrali
- (2) Chatrōri
- (3) Arniya

(C) *Dard group*:

- (1) Shina
- (2) Kashmiri (Kə:šur)
- (3) Kohistani, See Grierson, p. 149.

- 52. Grierson; "The Linguistic Classification of Kashmiri", *Indian Antiquary*, 44, 1915, pp. 257-278.
- 53. Suniti Kumar Chatterji: *Languages and Literatures of Modern India*, Calcutta, 1963, p. 256.
- 54. B. Kachru, 1968, p.289.
- 55. *Kashmir Census Report*, 1911, P.179.
- 56. Grierson, 1915, p.262.
- 57. *Ibid*, pp. 215-259.
- 58. *Ibid*, p. 267.
- 59. *Ibid*, p.270
- 60. See Grierson, 1919, p.433.
- 61. *Ibid*, p.33
- 62. B. Kachru, p.291
- 63. *Ibid*. ■

Chapter II

KASHMIR FOLKTALE IN TRADITION

2. Kashmir Folktale in Tradition

As is very clear from the historical and cultural perspective of the Valley of Kashmir, we surveyed in the preceding sections, Kashmir probably had strong cultural roots. It is becoming increasingly difficult for historians and social scientists to connect some of the missing links of the presumably brilliant past of the Valley. Due to the lack of authentic historical record, it is rather difficult to reconstruct with some degree of accuracy the history of Kashmiri folktale which, it is believed had also a "written" tradition.¹

It is believed that Kashmir because of its brilliant past, especially in religious thought and aesthetic expressions became the fountain head of the Asian (and later European) tale treasures.² The most frequently quoted evidence to support this notion is the famous *Panchatantra* a collection of fables supposed to have been composed in Kashmir.³

The original collection of the *Panchatantra* stories was written in Sanskrit and contained eighty four tales. But in their endless travel, through the ages, in India and abroad, these stories, it is believed underwent many changes not only in regard to form, content and setting, but even in their total numerical strength.⁴ *Panchatantra*, it is presumed, was "written" to train the royal princes in the art of politics and royalty. Therefore, it is believed that a bunch of selected oral animal tales were retold and written down making structural and other changes to suit the purpose of teaching morals and political art to the royal princes. These structural changes are quite visible when one looks into the aspect of plot structure of the tales. Most of the tales in various *tarangas* ["waves"] are linked with other tales thematically, and in a particular fashion of plot-structure-continuity: an arrangement which one often notices in modern fiction, particularly the novel and in mythologies of advanced cultures; where an individual myth, although a narrative unit in itself, is usually somehow connected with the whole complex of the mythology at various levels, be it the level of the theme or the plot structure. One fails to notice this arrangement in a simple, pure animal tale, unless it is a tale-cycle, but,

then, the arrangement will certainly differ. For instance, the similarities then will, perhaps, be more among the characters rather than between thematic or plot patterns.

Of equal importance, in this "written" oral tradition, is the most famous work *Kathāsaritsāgara* ["ocean of stories"] of Somadeva. It is believed that this work was composed around A.D. 1070. Somadeva's *Kathāsaritsāgara* is said to be based upon the famous collection of stories *Brihat Kathā* ["Great tale"]⁵ by Gunadhya, which is lost and no longer available.⁶ According to Temple "..... it is clear that the author purported to make a general collection of tales current in India around A.D. 1000, or rather he claims to have made a selection as did his contemporary Kashmiri Brahman Kashemendra in his *Brihat Kathā Manjarī*, out of much older, but now lost work, Gunadhya's *Brihat Kathā* or Great Tale."⁷ Some other evidence has shown that even the tale elements or tales of *Jataka* and *Panchatantra* have also been included in the *Sāgara*⁸ but the blending has been such that, "it would be very difficult to trace them". Gaster has no doubt that besides including some written material, Somadeva has used oral traditions also.⁹ Commenting on this complex problem of the mixture of "written" and oral traditions and the process of transmission of the oral tale, Gaster writes, ".... the process did not end by the writing down of the oral tale, the written book became in time the starting point of a new set of oral lore...."¹⁰

Gaster does not rule out Somadeva's and his predecessor's successful attempts at including some forms of available oral tradition, other than tales, in his monumental work. According to Gaster, "..... it must suffice to have raised this question and to hint at the possibility of Somadeva and his immediate predecessors having made use also of some of the ballads and legends floating about ... "¹¹

What we intend to clear in this section is the misconception which prevails in some sections of Indian and European folklore scholarship that the only purest of the folktales from Kashmir were collected in Gunadhya's lost work or in *Kathāsaritsāgara* or *Panchatantra*. That these works are great tale collections of the ancient East, is beyond dispute. But to believe, as has been the trend with the later nineteenth and early twentieth century folklore scholarship, that these are the original and the authentic tales, is to believe in devaluation and to deny the existence of everything else except diachronism.¹²

There is no doubt that in the *Panchatantra* or *Kathāsaritsāgara*, narrative materials available in Kashmiri at a particular point in history are recorded, and later these basic versions also got diffused and versions or the so called literary versions came into being. To believe that these recorded versions are the "original" or "pure" narrative materials of these cultures is to disbelieve in the process of transmission of oral tradition and also in the existence of oral narrative data which is available in the culture at present, and probably should be available in future as well. That by recording, a particular item of folklore loses

its oral characteristics is wrong notion and acknowledged, as such by folklorists. But what we intend to make clear here is the other extreme of the same wrong notion i.e., folklore materials, especially narrative materials, once recorded do not undergo changes - whether because of diffusion or by blending etc. Suffice it to say here, that this kind of notion also denies the processes that are involved in the transmission and dissemination of oral tale which survives due to changes and alterations made by its carriers. Were this notion true, then one would be surprised to find only the recorded tales in some archives of Kashmir, and no one would be telling a tale without looking into the archives and no one would also be knowing other tales than the recorded ones. In other words the very characteristics of an item of oral tradition is change. This is true with language as well. How should one expect no change in various items of folklore, when the very medium which carries it through time and space is not only prone to change but depends entirely upon change.¹³

Therefore narrative materials recorded in Kashmir, surprisingly in a language which never seems to have been spoken by masses in the Valley and which in due course of time became very popular and to some extent highly influential,¹⁴ have its own place, in the tradition of Kashmiri oral literature. But at the same time data which is now available or has been recorded very recently doesn't seem to suffer, in any manner, from any impurity as scholars sometimes tend to believe. Or even if it does, it should not become the task of a synchronic study to locate the levels where such impurities exist and to purify them. In a synchronic study, the historical changes do not matter much, and more so in a structural analysis of the kind we intend to undertake. It is possible that the data we are going to examine here in this study might be containing a sizable number of elements drawn, in a historical sense, from the popular recorded materials of the past. Although it is not our concern here in this study to decipher those elements and discover the levels of their occurrence, yet these elements, whatever diachronic connotation they might carry, are or have become inseparable parts of the present data in every sense of the term and therefore are subject to the synchronic analysis we are undertaking in the study. Kashmiri folktale, as such has had a good past, but not better than its present.

2.1. The Position of Kashmiri Folktale in Folklore Genres

On the basis of the preceding section one can easily see that Kashmir folktale or oral narrative has received special attention of scholars both oriental and Occidental. In the words of Knowles (Whose collection *Folktales of Kashmir* we are going to analyze structurally in this study), "Kashmir as a field of folklore literature is, perhaps not surpassed in fertility by any other country in the world".¹⁵ He further goes on to add that "the great interest and importance attaching to the folk tales of any people is manifest from the great

attention devoted to them by many learned writers and others".¹⁶ This comment should be viewed, diachronically rather than synchronically; for at the end of nineteenth century, folklorists lacked synchronic insights and were dominated by past oriented theories and as such believed in "superior" and "inferior" cultures. Such assumptions have been proved wrong. One wonders as to what were the guiding factors for Knowles to make such a comment. Can "fertility" be explained in terms of quantity, or quality, or both. Was the folktale functionally so indispensable in the culture so that it attracted great scholars. Obviously Knowles does not explain the reasons behind his comment. Nor should this mean that the oral tales of Kashmir are "superior" than those found in other neighboring or distant cultures; but it does indicate to the importance of the oral tale, in the overall folkloric genres of the culture.

This distinct position of folktale among Kashmiris can be treated as a culture specific characteristic, although one must hasten to add, that this does not mean that the forms of folklore, other than the narrative are absent. On the other hand, they are very much present and function actively in the communication system of the culture. The only inference one can draw from this is that quantitatively or perhaps functionally, tale has been more popular, and perhaps more important in this culture, and has therefore naturally received more attention from the scholars. Although reasons for this speciality are not known, but one can realize that forms other than the oral narrative in this culture seem to be less popular and less used. On more than one occasions it was observed during my field work, that knowing atleast one or more tales (or a story of some kind) is generally expected from the members of the culture. Folktale seems to have formed a part of the communicative behavior of the individuals of this culture. This is clear from the various meanings of the term *Kath* (story) as explained earlier. This phenomenon of genetic speciality among cultures is not uncommon and can perhaps be found besides folklore, at other levels of communicative systems. For instance, Dravidian culture seems to have not excelled in the creation of complex tales märchen type tales - as it has in oral poetry, particularly folk epics. Therefore, in a particular culture, if one finds a particular form of folklore more developed, it can, unless cultural - historical evidences prove otherwise, be attributed to culture specific phenomenon as in the case of Kashmiri folktale.

2.2. Earlier Work on Kashmiri Folktale

The earliest work on Kashmiri Folktale is believed to be *Brihatkathā* written in Paisāchī language. Scholars believe that the work might date back between 700 - 400 B.C.¹⁷ Gunadhya is said to be the compiler of this great tale collection. The original collection is said to have been in seven volumes. Six are believed to have been consumed

by fire,¹⁸ and the last volume, now lost,¹⁹ is believed to have been used as the basic material by latter collectors (such as Somadeva) for their collections.

The next important work is *Kathāsaritsāgara* of Somadeva. As said earlier, Somadeva seems to have used the materials of the rescued last volume of *Brihatkathā* and other tales current in Kashmir around 1000 A.D.²⁰ Some scholars believe that even stories from *Jātaka* and *Panchatantra* have been blended into new forms in *Kathāsaritsāgara* as discussed in Section 2.1. Another great collection *Brihatkāthamanjarī* is supposed to have been composed by Kshemendra, a court poet of King Ananta of Kashmir,²¹ and a contemporary of Somadeva. As discussed in previous sections (2.1.), it is generally believed that the famous *Panchatantra* was composed in Kashmir around 200 B.C.²²

Besides commenting on this written tradition of oral narratives, which we, however, did summarily in previous sections (2.1.) our intention here is primarily to assess how much work, both collection and analysis, has been done during the modern times in the area of oral narratives of Kashmir, particularly folktales; and also to see, to what extent it is relevant to the present study.

During the modern times, the earliest collection of oral tales, the *Folk-Tales of Kashmir*; was compiled by the famous missionary physician James Hinton Knowles.²³ This is a great collection of ninety-six tales written in English; and contains fairy tales, legends, trickster tales, humorous tales and other forms of oral narrative. Although many collections have appeared after Knowles' collection, it still remains the best collection ever done of Kashmir folktales. This is evidenced by the fact that the collector provides as much information as he could manage on tales, on informants, tale parallels and motifs and cultural items which occur frequently in the tales. Compared to later collections, it does not only possess the qualities that one finds in these later collections, but retains some of the characteristics that seem to be special to this collection, and which one fails to find in later collections. For instance Knowles' collection gives a variant or a version of the tale wherever it is available.²⁴ No other collection after Knowles' seems to have followed this important practice. Similarly, Knowles collected his data from a variety of informants, representing various sections of the society. Later collectors did not take care of this important aspect of folklore collection as well. Thus it is not without reason that the present study is based upon this great collection. Suffice it to say here that, even after nearly hundred years, this celebrated collection, because of its own qualities, still remains the best single collection ever done of folktales from Kashmir.

After Knowles' collection, which appeared in 1893, no collection, or any other work directed towards Kashmiri folktale appeared for forty-four years, i.e., till 1937, when Aurel Stein and J.A. Grierson brought out a collection entitled *Hatim's Tales*.²⁵ This collection

consists of only six folktales and some songs, collected from a single informant - Hatim [and hence the title *Hatim's Tales*]. Besides a good translation of the tales, the original texts in Kashmiri are given in the collection to which Grierson has tried to provide detailed linguistic notes. W. Crooke in his introduction, to this volume, has made an attempt at delineating motifs and incidents of the tales and comparing them with tales and "incidents" of the stories largely drawn from oriental stories.²⁶ Although Stein and Grierson's Collection is much smaller when compared to Knowles' collection, it does also have some characteristics of its own. For instance, unlike Knowles, it presents the tale repertoire of one single informant. Knowles did not give the original texts in Kashmiri in his book, but Stein and Grierson's collection gives original texts with some degree of detail. The most important characteristics, which has some historical significance, is that Stein and Grierson attempted to analyze the Kashmiri tale.²⁷ This analysis is presented in the form of an "introduction" by W. Crooke. Although Crooke does not follow any particular school or theory, but the manner in which he delineates special tale features, compares them with the tales of other cultures and presents his interpretations of these tales, certainly is an attempt to analyze the tales which one does not find (except in the form of notes and comparisons in Knowles' collection) in earlier collections, and therefore seems the first ever attempt made to study Kashmiri folktales.

After a gap of about three decades since the appearance of *Hatim's Tales*, a small informative study by Mohan Krishen Dhar on Kashmiri Folklore was published in Hindi.²⁸ This book has a section on folktales. Besides incorporating a few folktales in the form of data in this section on tales, Dhar comments on these tales sporadically and certainly in ignorance of the earlier works, particularly *Hatim's Tales*. Dhar's attitude all along this small study, it seems, has not been to study tales seriously but to provide some general information, about Kashmiri folklore to the layman, particularly the Hindi knowing audience. This is true of Sadhu as well, who brought out a new collection of Kashmiri folktales in 1965.²⁹

Recently Hakhu has done a small dissertation on Kashmiri folktales,³⁰ in which he attempts to reduce some legends and folktales of Kashmir on the Aarne-Thompson Type-index pattern.

The data we presented in this section clearly indicates that although many efforts have been made to collect folktales of Kashmir, there has hardly been any attempt towards what might be called analysis of this data. Kashmiri folktale has not been studied in any manner either diachronically or synchronically.³¹ In spite of reasonable good collections, Kashmiri folktale remains untouched as far as studying it or analyzing it is concerned.

Notes and References :

1. In India, more particularly Kashmir, oral narratives were collected, polished and preserved in written form.
2. See, Y.M. Sokolov: *Russian Folklore* (New York, 1950) p.79; Gaston Paris: *Oriental Tales in Medieval Literature* [in Russian] (Odessa, 1886); Arthur W. Ryder: *The Panchatantra*, (Bombay, 1949) especially Introduction, p.3; Knowles J. Hinton *Folk-Tales of Kashmir*, (London, 1893), especially the Preface, P.V.
3. Besides others, both Benfey and Hartal believe that the original version of *Panchatantra* was composed in Kashmir about 200 B.C. See Ryder: *The Panchatantra*, Introduction, pp.3-4.
4. Even the versions available inside Kashmir do not seem to tally as regards the numerical strength of tales. See Lalita Handoo: "Bhartiya Lokkathaon ki Parampara aur Kashmir" [Indian Folktale Tradition and Kashmir], *Janasahitya*, (July 1966), pp. 233; and *Sheeraza* 1967.
5. That the original *Brihat Katha* is lost is beyond doubt; but it seems that some rare version of *Brihat Katha* or other collections, or some rare manuscripts having some structural-contextual relationship with the original *Brihat Katha* with the same title is in existence even now, having some ritualistic function for some people of the culture. It is interesting to note that this 'preserved' "*Brihat Katha*" is supposed to contain tales, or "true stories" of the past, with morals or conclusions at the end of each story, and, therefore, it is believed that these can be true in present, and probably in the future as well. My informants told me that until very recently a Brahmin priest of the Bhuhury Kadal in the heart of the Srinagar city, kept such a "book" and people used to seek guidance and solutions to their pressing problems from the "book", which however, was treated as sacred. For example a childless woman, wanting a child would go to the priest, explain her problem and seek guidance. The priest after a preliminary ritual of worship etc. would open the sacred book and ask the lady to keep her finger or a coin on any portion, or number of the open page of the sacred manuscript. The numbers would then be calculated and the portions read out irrespective of her knowledge of the language, the priest would then convey the meaning in a sort of symbolic tale which would suggest in a highly symbolic language the means and methods for the redressal of her problems. It should, however, be noted that seeing "*Brahas Katha*" [as the expression is used in the culture: /*Brahas Katha Vuchin* /] is the final hope for persons seeking solutions to their most important and pressing problems. It should not be out of the context here to remark that in native language the word "*brahas katha*"

is used for a "long tale" full of complexities, "a tragic story", an "endless story", "a tragic biography" or "autobiography". Again, it should be noted that in Kashmiri language "Kath" (a form of Sanskrit "Katha") means : (i) "talk" (ii) "story" (iii) "saying" or "proverb" and (iv) "language". This situation although not without parallel, seems to emphasize the basic unity between various aspects of the folk genres.

6. See R.C. Temple's "Foreword" to N.M. Penzer ed.: *The Ocean of Story*, Vol. 1. [reprint] Delhi, 1968, p.xii.
7. *Ibid*, pp. Xiv.
8. See M. Gaster's "Foreword" to N.M. Penzer ed.: *The Ocean of Story*, Vol. 3., Delhi 1968, p.x
9. *Ibid*.
10. *Ibid*.
11. *Ibid*.
12. This type of "past orientedness" is termed by Alan Dundes as "devolutionary premise". According to him, "even a cursory examination of the intellectual history of folklore scholarship reveals a definite unquestioned basic premise that the golden age of folklore occurred in the past, in most cases specifically the far distant past". This, according to him, has been the reason for the diachronic nature of most of the folklore theories, and the reason for searching the original or "Ur" forms or archetypes in folklore. For instance, notions like "Folklore decayed through time", "folklore runs down from higher to lower cultures", "folklore originated due to disease of language", "folktales are the detritus of myths", or the concepts like "original version being the best", "folklore items move from perfection to imperfection", "reconstruction of proto form", etc. indicate past orientedness of folklore theory or the tendency of moving backwards not forward and hence termed devolution. See Alan Dundes: *Analytic Essays in Folklore*, The Hague, 1975, pp. 17-18. See also Jawaharlal Handoo: *Current Trends in Folklore*, Mysore, 1978.
13. See Jawaharlal Handoo: *Current Trends in Folklore*.
14. In the light of modern folklore research Benfey's diffusion based theory of borrowing, which was a step further in the genetic-diffusion theory of MaxMuller, and more commonly known as "migrational theory" was, in the light of the data collected from the new world, rejected. These findings disproved the so called Indic sources of all

European folktales and other narrative genres, but it has however, generally been accepted that the so-called "written" oral literature of India, particularly Kashmir has influenced the tale tradition of the West. See, C.W. Von Sydow: "Folktale Research and Philology: Some Points of View" in Bødker ed. : *Selected Papers on Folklore*, Copenhagen, 1948, pp. 189-219.

15. See J.H. Knowles: *Folktales of Kashmir*, "Preface", 1893. P.I.

16. Ibid p.I.

17. See Durga Bhagwat : *An Outline of Indian Folklore*, 1952, p.27.

18. This fire episode, a kind of metafolklore, is narrated in the following story:

Gunadhya sought employment as a court poet in the court of King Satvahana who was being ridiculed by his queen for not knowing Sanskrit language, the *daivya bhāṣā*. The king wanted Gunadhya, a great Sanskrit scholar, to teach him Sanskrit within six months. Gunadhya knew that six months were not enough to master the language and therefore expressed his helplessness and wanted at least six years to make the king proficient in the language. The king challenged other court poets to do the job. A court poet, jealous of Gunadhya's reputation accepted the challenge. Gunadhya also challenged that if the poet did make the king proficient in Sanskrit language within a period of six months, he would leave the court and never write in Sanskrit or study it again. The jealous court poet with the assistance of supernatural powers and beings, accomplished his task of making the king proficient in Sanskrit language within the stipulated time. Gunadhya, defeated and disgusted, kept his word, left the court and never read, or used Sanskrit for his writings again. While wandering in the hills he met some tribals and heard them speak paisācā language (paiśācā bhāṣā). He learned the language and began writing down the tales of these tribals and the tales he knew himself, in this language. Thus he prepared seven volumes of tales in paisācā language. He presented these volumes to the king with the intention of pleasing him and regaining his lost prestige. Since the king was now a Sanskrit scholar, he was displeased to find written works, in a non-elite tribal language such as paisācā spoken by tribals of the same name [meaning ghosts, tribals etc. (see Bhagawat, 1952, p.28)]. The king, it is believed, declared that these collections deserve to be burnt down. Extremely dejected by this insult, Gunadhya lit a fire and after reading each volume to his disciples consigned it to flames. Thus six volumes were burnt down. When the last volume was about to be burnt, the king however realized his mistake, sought pardon and saved the last volume. There are many other versions of this story available but more or less with the same structure. For more versions, See Bhagwat, 1952. p.27. It is interesting to compare this story with similar Oriental stories about authors, poets etc., who become

victims of the cruel king's deceit. In such stories the king or the benefactor, however, in the end realizes his error and helps the victim by saving his vulnerable work, by paying the promised amount of gold coins, or doing the promised service etc., as in the case of the renowned poet Firdōsi, the author of *Shāhnāmā*.

19. The *Brihat katha*, which is preserved at Buhury Kadal in Srinagar, is believed to be a fragment of this original "saved" seventh volume.
20. Cf. Temple, p. Xiv.
21. Ananta, according to Kalhana, ruled from 1028 to 1063. See *Rajatarangini* translated by Stein, Vol, I, p.288.
22. See, Ryder :*The Panchantantra*, "Introduction", p.3.
23. See Knowles, 1893.
24. Folklorists use the terms "variant" and "version" interchangeably. It is suggested that "variant" should be used for those versions that diverge appreciably from standard forms. We are however, using "variant" and "version" interchangeably, as synonyms in this study. For more details on variant and version, See Alan Dundes ed. :*The Study of Folklore*, p.420. Also see Stith Thompson: "variant" in Maria Leach ed. :*Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology and legend*, New York, 1949, pp. 1154-55.
25. See, *Hatim's tales : Kashmir Stories and Songs*, collected by Aurel Stein with a Note On the Folklore of the Tales by W. Crooke, London, 1937.
26. Ibid., "Introduction".
27. Walter, R. Lawrence's *The Valley of Kashmir*, 1895, which appeared only two years after Knowles' collection is in a way an encyclopaedia of Kashmir culture. Although the author has no intention of presenting either a collection of folktales or their analysis, but in the course of his investigations into Kashmir culture, folklore in all genres and forms has been used throughout this excellent work.
28. See, Mohan Krishen Dhar :*Kashmīr Kā Lōksāhitya*.
29. See S.L. Sadhu :*Folktales From Kashmir*, Bombay, 1965. Note the word "from" in the title. Sadhu also, like his predecessors, seems to be presenting the tales to layman purely for entertainment and information. Besides Sadhu, Nand Lal Chatta also

brought out a tiny collection for children in particular. See Nand Lal Chatta: *Kashmīr kī Lōk Kathāye*, New Delhi, 1965.

30. See Chamanlal Hakhu : *Kashmīr kī Lōkkāthāyen*, unpublished M.A. dissertation, Kashmir University, Srinagar, 1970.
31. However in the recent years besides collections small attempts have been made by me and others to study and analyze Kashmiri folktales. See, Lalita Handoo: "The Syntagmatic structure of Kashmiri Folktales", *Journal of Indian Folkloristics*, Vol. 3, Nos. 5/6, 1980, pp.121-129, ; "Indian Numskull Tales: Form and Meaning", *Asian Folklore Studies*, Vol. 42, 1983, pp.253-262. See also the sections on *Folktales of Kashmir* in J.Handoo et al. ed. *Folktales of India*, Chicago, 1987. J. Handoo also studied structurally and psychoanalytically the famous tale "Sōnykisōe:r". See his paper "Theory and the Problem of meaning in Folklore", *International Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 2, No.2, 1982, pp. 7-26. ■

Chapter III

STRUCTURAL APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF FOLKTALE

3. Introduction: The Classificatory Units

To Study folklore structurally is a recent development. Traditionally the emphasis of the global folklore scholarship has been "upon the genesis and development of folkloristic materials rather than upon the structure of these materials".¹ This was primarily due to the deep - rooted historical attitudes of the mid-century folklore scholarship which was more concerned about the origin, evolution, diffusion and genesis of a folklore item rather than its form or structure. This has been more true of oral narrative studies rather than the studies on other genres of folklore, which, however, speaking historically, have received less attention than the narrative. While the Solar Mythologists and the followers of the Anthropological School were more interested in the origin of folklore materials, the scholars following the Finish Method or the Historical - Geographical School aimed at the delineation of a complete or near complete life history of a particular tale by tracing the path of its diffusion and travel, thereby reconstructing the "hypothetical" original form of the tale. All these approaches are, as one can see, diachronic and comparative in nature.

The need to facilitate comparative studies of folklore materials resulted in the discovery of classificatory or analytical units like "type" and "motif", both associated with Antti Aarne (1928) and Stith Thompson (1946) respectively.² Both these units are classificatory rather than analytical. Thompson identified "type" as a "narrative capable of maintaining an independent existence in tradition". Type, then, according to him may comprise of one or more "motifs". Viewed from an analytical viewpoint, "type" then becomes more a "cluster of units" rather than a unit in itself. Similarly, "motif", according to Thompson, is the "smallest element in a tale having a power to persist in tradition".³ Elements or aspects that Thompson terms as "motifs" include besides other things, characters, events, objects that occur in folktales. Obviously these are variables and not constant or labile elements which one ought to search in oral narrative in order to reduce the uncontrollable data to, by and large, a controllable situation. That the notion of a tale

type and the motif were the products of an atomistic attitude which dominated early folklore scholarship is very well explained by Alan Dundes in his following remarks:

"Even the study of individual Aarne-Thompson tale types is essentially atomistic in that each tale so considered is analyzed without relation to all other folktales (except for a very few which may be historically related)"⁴

Comparing the situation with linguistic methodology, Dundes further remarks:

"Assumed that a motif is analogous to a word and that a tale type is analogous to a sentence (a group of words). (These are not true analogies and are being used solely for illustrative purposes). Could a linguist describe how a language works by making intensive studies of one word or one sentence? It should be obvious that he would have to study many words as elements of larger wholes and many sentences as exemplary of definite patterns (e.g. "favorite sentence types")."⁵

3.1. Diachronic vs. Synchronic Approach

In recent years folklore scholarship seems to have realized the necessity of synchronic approach to the study of folklore as against the diachronic or atomistic approach. Consider the following remarks of V.J. Propp in which he emphasizes the importance of description and structure:

"The problems of the description of the tale have been relatively neglected in favour of the concept of the tale as something finished or given. Only at present time is the idea of the need for an exact description growing ever wider, although the forms of the tale have already long been discussed. And actually, at a time when minerals, plants, and animals are described and classified precisely according to their structure, at a time when a whole range of literary genres (the fable, the ode, drama etc.) have been described, the tale continues to be studied without such a description".⁶

Propp valued description as a first step to structural analysis and reemphasized the role of description even in the historical study of narratives. He writes:

"We shall insist that as long as no correct morphological study exists, there can be no correct historical study. If we are incapable of breaking the tale into its components we will not be able to make a correct comparison".⁷

3.2. Structuralism in Various Disciplines

The advent of structural approach to the study of folklore in general and folktale in particular, as we are aware, is not a sudden or an isolated development rather a phenomenon, a trend and a movement that got impetus in the second and third decades of the present century. This trend revolutionized besides folklore, a number of other disciplines such as psychology, mathematics, anthropology linguistics and poetics. Both in art and in science there has lately been a strong shift from diachronic to synchronic study and structuralism as a method of analysis has been gaining ground. Consider the following remarks of Piaget:

"For the mathematicians, structuralism is opposed to compartmentalisation, which it counteracts by recovering unity through isomorphisms. For several generations of linguists structuralism is chiefly a departure from the diachronic study of isolated linguistic phenomena which prevailed in the nineteenth century and a turn to the investigation of synchronously functioning unified language systems. In Psychology structuralism has long combated the atomistic tendency to reduce wholes to their prior elements. And in currents philosophical discussion we find structuralism tackling historicism, functionalism, sometimes even all theories that have recourse to the human subjects".⁸

Structuralism thus, according to Piaget, comprises of three main notions: "The idea of wholeness, the idea of transformation, and the idea of self regulation".⁹

3.2.1. *Folklore*

The structural theory in folklore emerged out of Russian Formalism. Prague became the center of structural studies in humanities mainly literary criticism, linguistics and folklore. "The basic tenet of the school," remarks Jakobson, "was the structural analysis of the literary work. Folklore owing to its specific features as a collective products - its recurrent conventionalized and stylized structural components, its highly pronounced formula characteristics and the semantic significance it ascribes to the sound and stylistic

patterns - became the principal ground of the formalists. Linguistics, literary historians, and ethnographers investigated the narrative technique of the folklore and the prosody of epic folk poetry, of folksongs, proverbs, and riddles".¹⁰

3.2.2. *Linguistics*

Linguistic structuralism goes back to de Saussure who established the importance of synchronic approach to the study of language as opposed to the diachronic or historical approach followed by the earlier scholars. Though he never used the term structure (he instead used "system"), he stressed the "systematic" aspect of language thereby advocating the "system" approach as opposed to the "piecemeal" approach of the comparative philologists.¹¹

3.2.3. *Psychology*

Around the sametime the importance of "wholes" as opposed to the "individual elements" was established in Psychology as well. Commenting on Gestalt Psychology Max Wertheimer explains:

"There are wholes, the behavior of which is not determined by that of their individual elements, but where the part - processes are themselves determined by the intrinsic nature of the whole."¹²

3.2.4. *Anthropology*

In the field of anthropology the existence of "patterns" was realized as early as 1914 by Robert H. Lowie who observed that "patterns exist, and are one of the most active forces in shaping specific cultures."¹³ This was followed by several pattern studies by Franz Boas (1927), Eda Lou Walton (1930), Roberts (1933), Bødtkin (1934) and Ruth Benedict (1948).¹⁴ While Boas, Walton and Roberts surveyed patterns in American Indian art, poetry and music respectively, Bdkin studied the archetypal patterns of poetry. Benedict's *Pattern in culture* established the importance of the study of "whole" of a culture as opposed to its "parts" and was a monumental work in this direction. Realizing the need and importance of studying cultures as "articulated wholes", she explained:

".... cultures, likewise, are more the sum of their traits, we may know all about the distribution of a tribe's form of marriage, ritual dances, and puberty initiations, and yet understand nothing of the culture as a whole which has used these elements to its own purpose".¹⁵

3.3 Structural Approaches To Folklore: Bédier

The publication of V.J. Propp's *Morfologia Skazki [Morphology of the Folktale]* in 1928 marks the advent of structuralism in folkloristics. Although prior to Propp's work some attempts were made by scholars at delineating the structure of folktales, yet they could not influence the folklore scholarship in a big way.¹⁶ Propp in his *Morphology of the Folktale* has acknowledged the work of Joseph Bédier (1893) in this direction. Commenting on Bédier's work (*Les Fabliaux*) Propp observes:

"The value of Bédier's methods lies in the fact that he was the first to recognize that some relationship exists in the tale between its constants and variables. He attempts to express this schematically..... But his essentially correct idea falls apart in its inability to specify the exact meaning of omega. What Bédier's elements are in reality and how to separate them remains unclarified".¹⁷

3.3.1. Nikiforov

Attempts at delineating the structure of folktales especially fairy tales or *märchen* were made by Nikiforov around the same time as Propp. He suggested analysis of actions on the linguistic model of word formation. Accordingly, studying the linear pattern of narratives, he arrived at an analytical unit of the narrative that he called "function" (the action of the narrative role). He further differentiated between the "nuclear functions" and the "affixal functions", although he does not seem to have succeeded in identifying or exemplifying these differences clearly. Propp in his *Morphology*, it would seem, has borrowed these concepts of "function" the "tale role" and the "move" from Nikiforov, though the number and order of Propp's "functions" is not the same as that of Nikiforov. The ideas of Nikiforov, observes Handoo, "are very constructive, but they were not developed into a systematic analysis of syntagmatics of the tale, as one finds in Propp's work. Moreover, Nikiforov, committed the same mistake which his predecessors had been committing; that of not being able to distinguish the separate levels (e.g., themes, style, etc.). He does not also keep apart the structural principles and atomistic concepts as consistently as Propp does".¹⁹

3.3.2. Peterson

When Russian Formalism was at its peak, germs of structuralist thinking in folklore theory and methodology could be seen in Europe as well. Much before the English translation of Propp's *Morphology of the Folktale* (1958) reached the Western world, in Germany Jolles attempted to study the "various folkloristic genre forms".²⁰ In 1934, Lord

Raglan in his paper on "The Hero of Tradition",²¹ attempted a pattern analysis of the Greek hero types. In the same year Margaret Schlauch presented a pattern - analysis of Icelandic hero narratives.²² In 1945, Adolf Stender Peterson attempted to distinguish the "dynamic" and "labile" elements of tales and legends. Commenting on this work of Stender Peterson, Alan Dundes explains:

"Dynamic elements are the invariable features of a legend (somewhat similar to Propp's unit of analysis, the function), while the labile or static elements are the specific variable actualizations and localization found in given version of a legend. Dynamic units correspond to form, while labile units appear to be content, ... In this hypothetical model, the dynamic elements are functionally related. The relation of these elements to one another is such that they partly determine one another. Thus A to X represents an unbroken logical casual series However, one weakness in the scheme lies in the defining of the relationship of dynamic elements to labile elements. There is apparently no limit to the number of labile elements which can fulfill a given slot".²³

As is obvious from the above remarks of Dundes, it seems that Peterson's analysis of folktale is very close to the units discovered by Nikiforov. However, Propp's *Morphology* is the first full fledged attempt, and in a way, the completion of the task which Peterson and Nikiforov began, in the direction of the structural analysis of the narrative. Ever since its English translation appeared in 1958, it has aroused tremendous interest in folkloristics and inspired several structural studies of the folktales throughout the world.

3.3.3. Propp

Borrowing the term "morphology" directly from the biological sciences (Botany), Propp delineates a morphology, a structure of the fairy tale specifically the *märchen* or the Indo-European fairy tale, which he claims can be "as exact as the morphology of organic formations".²⁴ By morphology of the folktale he means "a description of the tale according to its component parts and the relationship of these components to each other and to the whole".²⁵ Propp makes distinction between the form and the content of a tale. He studies the linear sequence of elements of a tale - text, just like sentences as reported by the informant. Therefore his method of analysis is sometimes termed as the "syntagmatic" model. These elements, according to Propp, are the constant elements in a fairy tale which he designates as functions. These functions according to him are limited in number and they form the basic structure of a fairy tale or the entire genre of *märchen*, or the

Indo-European wonder tale. He describes function as "an act of character, defined from the point of view of its significance for the course of the action Functions of characters serve as stable constant, elements in a tale, independent of how and by whom they are fulfilled. They constitute the fundamental components of a tale".²⁶ Propp believed that all fairy tales are of one type as regards their structure and that the number of functions of tale is limited and their sequence identical.²⁷

Thus Propp's most valuable contribution to structural folkloristics is that he not only identified and defined a scientific analytic unit of the tale, but also found the sequence of order of these units, their combinations and their relation to each other and the tale as a whole. He showed the structural identicalness of the tales with apparently different content. Though Propp based his model on Russian fairy tales, yet this model has since been successfully applied on oral narrative in cross cultural and cross generic situations by various post Proppian structural folklorists such as Dundes (1964) Griemas (1966, 1971) Meletinsky (1974), Jason (1971, 72, 77), Handoo (1978) to name a few.

It was unfortunate that Propp's revolutionary discoveries did not receive the kind of attention these deserved in Russia. Only in the sixties the Russian scholars like Meletinsky,²⁸ Serebriany, Ivanov and Toporov gave some attention to Propp's structural model. These scholars in order to remove certain ambiguities and also to answer the Western criticism that Propp's morphology was an excellent example of Formalism and Formalistic exercises, further interpreted and stretched the Proppian model and presented longer syntagmatic units that included different tests of the heroes and the resultant results. Serebriany, besides interpreting Propp, suggested that the folktale can structurally be divided into three main parts, i.e., (i) activity of the villain, (ii) the hero's appropriate action, and (iii) happy end.²⁹ Ivanov and Toporov on the other hand applied Propp's model to various oral narratives without altering it. This is true of almost all structural folklorists who follow Propp's syntagmatic model. "A majority of such studies", remarks Handoo, "either attempt to summarize the model into some convenient but bigger units or further reduce it to smaller units. Some studies do not alter any thing except the terminology. Therefore all such studies are, in one way or the other, reinforcing the model developed by Propp. Even those scholars who begin with the task of replacing Propp's model somehow end up in following it".³⁰

3.3.4. Lévi-Strauss

In 1955, the French anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss presented a structural analysis of the myth of Oedipus.³¹ Borrowing the concepts of *la langue* and *la parole*, besides other things, from de Saussure, Lévi-Strauss compared myth with language.

According to him, myth is a code like language and could be deciphered in terms of "signified" and "signifying", Lévi-Strauss believed that this code is always construed in binary systems. In fact, according to Lévi-Strauss, myth's function is to mediate between these binary oppositions. Consider the following remarks of Richard M. Dorson on Lévi-Strauss' analysis of the myth of Oedipus:

"The Oedipus myth is trying to resolve the contradiction between the cultural belief that man is aboriginal and the realization in life that he is born of man woman. Every variant of each myth seeks to mediate between each opposing ideas whether sky and earth, wild and cultivated, male and female, good and bad".³²

Unlike Propp, Lévi-Strauss does not seem to be guided only by the plot-structure of a narrative, instead he picks up plot-elements by breaking down the myth into the shortest possible sentences, and rearranges these elements into paradigms in order to derive "mythemes" or the meaningful units of the myth. Therefore his method of analysis is sometimes called "paradigmatic", as opposed to the "syntagmatic" approach followed by Propp, Lévi-Strauss does not believe in studying myths in isolation, rather takes into account the cultural-ethnographic context in which these exist.

Lévi-Strauss' structural analysis has aroused great interest and discussions among contemporary folklore scholars. Some scholars believe that Lévi-Strauss, more often than not, confuses the structure of folklore with the structure of language. Dundes also criticizes Lévi-Strauss for his concept of "forcing folkloristic data into a Procrustean structural formula derived originally from an intensive study of kinship patterning".³³ His notion of synchronic and diachronic analysis is also equally confusing.

3.3.5. *Sebeok*

In 1957 Thomas A. Sebeok, primarily a socio-linguist, advocated structural approach to study of folklore. He strongly believed that all folklore texts are characterized by structural unity. Using language analogy for folkloristic data, Sebeok observed that "in folklore research structural analysis is to content analysis, as in linguistics grammatical analysis is to lexical study".³⁴ Like Lévi-Strauss, Sebeok also seems to have confused folkloristic and linguistic structures, which however, are not identical. This confusion is partly due to the fact that Sebeok studied folklore texts which are of "fixed phrase" type, such as proverbs, riddles and charms. It appears that what he calls the formal features of tales are in fact the style markers. For example, he discusses the opening and closing formulas, which he claims as the formal features of tales. It need not be emphasized here that these opening and closing formulas, although of great stylistic significance, do not

change the structure of the tale. Like myth the structure of the folktale also survives when translated from one language into the other, but the linguistic and stylistic structure of a tale or myth narrative may or may not survive the translation. Folkloric structures seem to be independent of language structures and therefore, are more stable than the linguistic structures.

Propp's syntagmatic approach and Lévi-Strauss' paradigmatic method form two major schools of structural analysis in folkloristics. Most of the present day structural folklorists belong to either of the two schools. There, however, are others who combine the best of both-Lévi-Strauss' and Propp's basic concepts and study folklore items structurally. Some such scholars are: Elli Kõngäs Maranda, Pierre Maranda, Alan Dundes, Heda Jason, Griemas, Bremond, Barthes and many others.

3.3.6. Dundes

Following Propp, Alan Dundes studied the structure of the North American Indian Folktales syntagmatically.³⁵ In his approach, Dundes is greatly influenced by the behaviourist theory of the famous linguist Pike and his terms "etic" and "emic". Dundes borrows the basic analytical concepts from Propp and relabels them to suit the American tradition. Propp's "function" was thus renamed as "motifeme". So instead of delineating a function pattern, he finds out the motifeme pattern of the tales he studies. According to Dundes, "There are definite recurrent sequences of motifemes and these sequences constitute a limited number of distinct patterns which empirical observation reveals are the structural bases of the majority of North American Indian folktales".³⁶ In yet another structural study of the African folktales, Dundes delineated the "basic pattern" of these tales as he had done in the case of the North American Indian tales.³⁷

On the importance of the comparative study of structural models in folklore, he observes that this "may be of considerable use in identifying large scale differences or similarities between cultures and between groups of cultures. If this is so, then to the traditional technique of comparing versions of individual tale types must be added a new technique of comparing general tale type structural patterns, not necessarily with the nineteenth century hope of reconstructing an ur-structural pattern, but rather with the goal of illuminating present, not past cultural problems and proclivities. And it is not just a matter of identifying structural patterns and charting the distribution of these patterns. The patterns themselves and their distribution can tell us a good deal".³⁸

Besides the folktale, Dundes also studied the structure of other folklore genres such as superstition, jokes etc., and went a step further in trying to establish the structural unity across genres.³⁹

3.3.7. *Greimas*

In his paper on "The Interpretation of Myth Theory and Practice", the renowned French structural semanticist Greimas, attempts at synthesizing Propp's syntagmatic and Lévi-Strauss' paradigmatic structural methods as a sound base for the development of the semantic theory of mythology, which he believes could help in interpreting myths while at the same time meet "the requirements of the mythologists conceptualizations".⁴⁰ He extends Propp's research of fairy tale to the analysis of myth, and modifies both Propp's and Lévi-Strauss' methods. For instance, he reduces Propp's analysis to "three distinguishable types of narrative syntagms : (1) performative (performancial) syntagms (the tests); (2) contractual syntagms (making and breaking of contracts), and (3) disjunctional syntagms (departures and returns)".⁴¹ Thus Greimas treats myth as a narrative unit, and tries to decipher its "narrative syntagms" in order to arrive at the content or the contextual message hidden inside it. He also believes that a semantic theory of mythology could not be developed on the basis of formal analysis alone, nor can it be developed only on the basis of its "contextual universe", but by discovering both its formal features, the inner motivations of these features and their relationships.

3.3.8. *Bremond*

Bremond's structural approach follows the footsteps of Greimas. He also combines the concepts of Lévi-Strauss and Propp and brings them closer by focussing on the logic of narrative, rather than the syntax etc. Consider the following remarks of Handoo:

"Bremond focuses not on the mythological context of the tale, but on the logic of the narrative itself; not on the Paradigmatic opposition but on the syntax of human actions. In his opinion, the function is the atom of narrative and any type of narrative is constructed by grouping of such atoms However in dichotomizing events, Bremond relies on Saussure's and Lévi-Strauss' approaches and names these events as ameliorations and degradations. He also demonstrates a possible chain of functions designed to realize an amelioration (cf. Propp's liquidation of lack). Bremond also emphasizes the contractual relationship of the antagonist and the protagonist comparable to the relation, creditor-debtor. This places Bremond very close to Greimas".⁴²

Bremond also emphasizes relating not narrative forms among themselves, but the narrative level of a message with the other levels of meaning and stresses that the semiology of narrative should precede and not follow the semiology of narrative techniques.⁴³

3.3.9. Barthes

Barthes in his *Elements of Semiology* uses both Saussurian and Proppian concepts to analyze the patterns of social behavior codes and meanings.⁴⁴

3.3.10 Jason

Heda Jason, the famous folklorist from Israel, presents two categories of units for the analysis of folktale. The first category consists of "functions" and the other "connectives". Borrowing Propp's concept of unit the "function" as its base, her analytic unit "function" comprises of two components - the "tale role" and the "action" and three elements namely the "subject" "action" and "object". In other words all these three elements combine to make a function.⁴⁵ Her second category of units termed "connective", claims Jason, "connects parts of the narrative which is organized into functions and moves."⁴⁶ She describes two types of connectives, the "informative connective" and the "transfer connective" (in terms of space, time and state). Based mainly on Propp's concepts, Jason modified his formula and attempted at delineating a structure of the non-fairy tales eg., swindler tales, numskull tales etc., thereby establishing the cross-cultural and cross-generic validity of Propp's model.⁴⁷

3.3.11 Marandas

Another major contribution to the structural folkloristics in recent years is from Pierre Maranda and Elli Kõngäs Maranda. In their book titled *Structural Models in Folklore and Transformational Essays*, they devised a cause-effect formula to study not only tales but songs, myths, riddles, sonnets, sagas and magical practices. Though the formula is based on Lévi-Strauss' method for analyzing myths, yet the credit of extending analysis of myth to other genres of folklore goes to the Marandas. Their "Working hypothesis" claim Marandas, "has been to check a restricted application of Lévi-Strauss formula and as implied in his approach, the binary processes of folkloric thought, against cases of different folkloric genres".⁴⁸

Besides Marandas, other scholars who followed Lévi-Strauss' paradigmatic method of analysis are: Lea(1971),⁴⁹ Da Matta (1971),⁵⁰ Handoo (1976),⁵¹ Robinson and Joiner (1968)⁵² and Khare (1967).⁵³

Notes and References

1. See Alan Dundes: *Analytic Essays in Folklore*, The Hague, 1975; particularly Chapter 6, "From Etic to Emic Units in the Structural Study of Folktales", pp. 61-71. See also, Jawaharlal Handoo: "The Concept of Unit in Oral Narrative" in the *Journal of Indian Folkloristics*, Vol. 1:2, 1978, pp. 43-52.
2. For details see Antti Aarne: *Märchentypen*, Helsinki, 1928. See also Stith Thompson: *Motif - Index of Folk-Literature* (6 Vols.), Bloomington, 1955-58; and his definition of "motif" and "type" in Maria Leach ed. *The Standard Dictionary of Folklore Mythology and Legend* (2 Vols). New York, 1949-50.
3. See the revised single volume reprint of the *The Standard Dictionary of Folklore Mythology and Legend*, London, 1975, p. 753.
4. Alan Dundes: *The Morphology of North American Indian Folktales*, Helsinki, 1964, p.39. See also Jawaharlal Handoo: *Current Trends in Folklore*, Mysore, 1978, pp. 104-138.
5. Alan Dundes: *The Morphology of North American Indian Folktales*, pp. - 40.
6. V.J. Propp: *Morphology of the Folktale*, (II edition), Austin, 1973, p.13.
7. *Ibid.* p.15.
8. Jean Piaget: *Structuralism* (translated and edited by Chaninah Maschler), London, 1971, p.4.
9. *Ibid.*, p.5.
10. Svatava Pirkova Jakobson: "Introduction" to V.J. Propp's *Morphology of the Folktale*, p.xxi.
11. For details see Ferdinand de Saussure: *Course in General Linguistics* (ed. by C. Bally and A. Sechêhaye. Translated by Bhaskin), New York, 1959.
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Chapter IV

THE STRUCTURE OF KASHMIRI FOLKTALES

4. Introduction

The search for a sound "unit" in folklore scholarship has until the forceful structural wave swept the field, been primarily motivated by the classificatory needs. The long diachronic era of folklore scholarship emphasized origin, genesis, evolution and diffusion so much so that classification was defined as analysis.¹ Therefore, whatever units scholars devised were fundamentally classificatory and near-analytical in nature. As the folklore studies advanced these units proved to be inadequate even for classification of the vast narrative data; which also proves that these units were not devised as a result of the scientific study of the data, particularly oral narrative materials, but were more or less conceived in an *a priori* manner and imposed upon the data basically for classificatory needs.

As is well known, Helsinki based Historical - Geographical School (or "Finnish School") had to, as a result of the work done by Krohns on the Finnish national epic *Kelevala* particularly, arrange and explain the massive collection of its variants and the original archetypes, devise a classificatory unit which in due course became known as "type" or more specifically "tale type". Thompson defines type as:

"A term used by students of folk literature to designate narratives *capable of maintaining an independent existence in tradition*. Any tale, no matter how complex or simple it is, told as an independent narrative is considered to be a type. Some types like the longer folktales of Grimm's collection may contain dozens of motifs and others like the anecdotes of the animal cycle may consist of single narrative motif. *In the latter, type and motifs are identical.*"

"If types are thus understood to mean independent narrative, there are obviously a limited number of them within any particular culture" [emphasis added].²

The above definition of "type" as complete narrative having independent existence in tradition is not only ambiguous but poses many problems. The notion of "independent existence" seems quite contrary to all norms of a sound unit; be it classificatory or analytical. "Does it mean" writes Handoo, "that a narrative, termed as 'type' does not in its process of transmission either assimilate new elements or transfer already existing ones to other tales (sometimes even to other forms of folklore). This obviously is not true, as we very well know, that clusterization or blending of different elements into a new form or tale is not an impossibility, but a phenomenon found widely operative in most of the communicative systems including folklore. Since the very nature of most of the items of folklore is oral, the possibility of such changes becomes more imminent".³ This leads one to think that Aarne's tale types are based on some kind of themes, which are "geo-ethnographically arranged according to a known, previously developed system, and then conclusions are drawn as to the basic structure dissemination and origin of themes".⁴ But, then, there can be no single principle for deciding the theme or the decisive element of tale. Nor do we see a completely objective criteria for the separation of one theme from another. According to Propp "Clear cut division with types does not actually exist; very often it is a fiction. *If types do exist, they exist not on the level indicated by Aarne but on the level of structural features of similar tales*" [emphasis added].⁵

Propp, on the other hand, delineates *tale types* deductively from the data. He singles out the component parts of the tale by a comparative method. He calls these component parts or elements *functions*. Propp's functions are *the constant actions of variable characters that have implication for the advancement of the plot*. These functions, according to Propp, are delineated following the linear sequence of the narrative as "given" by the informant.⁶ Following this mode of operation, Propp considers *tales with identical functions as belonging to one type*.⁷ Thus Propp's tale types, unlike Aarne - Thompson's, are not based upon theme features, which according to him are "somewhat vague and diffuse but upon exact structural features".⁸ Thus all fairy tales or *märchen* classified by Aarne - Thompson under tale types 300 to 749⁹ belong, according to Propp's structural principles, to a single type, with some sub - types within the main type.

Propp's structural quest led him finally to the discovery of thirty one functions in (Russian) fairy tales. This does not, however, mean that all these thirty one functions occur in a single tale. These functions, according to Propp occur in various combinations and forms, generally known as "tale types". Propp also discovered that the sequence of

functions in fairy tales is always identical. This further strengthened the Proppian notion of tale type based absolutely on structural frame as opposed to some kind of theme based tale types of Aarne.

It should however be noted that both Aarne and Propp, while dealing with the notion of type, were primarily concerned with the frightening problem of classification of folktales or more appropriately oral narratives - a problem which was for some time thought to be unsurmountable. Therefore devising a classificatory system which could hold, as far as possible, the vast and unreckenable narrative data of the world, was the basic motivation which made Aarne to discover "type". It should, however, be noted that although a similar instinct forced Propp to delve into the problem of classification of folktales in general and type in particular, but then, Propp led by the new circumstances and the discoveries, did not stop at the level of classification, instead he travelled into the realm of analysis, more precisely the structural analysis of the fairy tales. That the problem of classification has been important for Propp's analysis is quite clear from his following remarks:

"Since the tale is exceptionally diverse and evidently cannot be studied at once in its full extent, the material must be divided into sections, i.e., it must be classified. Correct classification is one of the first steps in a scientific description. The accuracy of all further study depends upon the accuracy of classifications. But although classification serves as the foundation of all investigation, it must itself be the result of certain preliminary study. What we see, however is precisely the reverse: the majority of researchers *begin* with classification, imposing it upon the material from without and not extracting it from the material itself".¹⁰

True to his word and the method, Propp decomposes the tales, reduces them to basic structural components which indicate definite patterns and exhibit structural similarities or dissimilarities. It is precisely these similar or dissimilar components which, according to him, decide the types or what he terms as "typological unity" of tales. This typological unity can be structurally discovered within the same genre and also across genres. That this line of analysis completely ignores and sometimes violates the traditional concepts of genres is not wholly true. We shall come to it later. First let us see the typological categories Propp finds within the fairy tale. According to Propp:

"..... Thus four classes are immediately formed: development through H-I, development through M-N, development through both H-I and M-N, and development without either".¹¹

Besides indicating the accuracy of the description, this also clearly shows the economy of description - that of controlling the infinite by a finite system; by and large the fundamental principle of any kind of scientific investigation. For example, the fairy tale genre according to the traditional notion of type was classified into four hundred and forty-nine types (Nos: 300 - 749), and perhaps with open scope for more additions. In other words, a thematic, more or less imaginative and subjective view, may sometimes formulate, if not more, but as many types as the tales in the data, and thus defeat the very purpose of scientific investigation. In the absence of a definable unit, which survives the diversity of data and is consistent, it is hard to think of classifying tales into structural types and measure them in a logically acceptable manner. Propp was conscious of the drawbacks of his predecessors in this regard, and therefore he devised a methodology which could eliminate the chances of imagination and imposition and bring the science of studying folktale (Folklore) closer to other sciences.¹²

Ever since Propp's *Morphology* became known in the wider anthropological and folkloristic circles, scholars while appreciating the synchronic - morphological approach of Propp, have often blamed Propp of depriving the fairy tale of thematic differences and thus of versions¹³ or variants.¹⁴ In the first place, Propp's analysis does not take theme into consideration and therefore the thematic differences have not been the concern of his morphological analysis. And in the second place, Propp does show enough concern regarding the structural variants of the folktale. Consider his following remarks:

"Tales with H-I and those with M-N are essentially tales of different formation, since these features exclude one another. The presence or absence of the given elements is their basic structural feature. In Zoology, in exactly the same manner, the whale does not fall under the category of fishes, since it breathes by means of lungs, even though externally it looks very much like a fish. The eel, in the very same way, is classified in the category of fishes, even though it looks like a snake; the potato falls into the category of stems, though everyone takes it to be a root, and so on. *This is a classification by structural interior features, and not by features which are external and changeable*" [emphasis added].¹⁵

Furthermore, keeping this aspect of structural variant in view, Propp arrived at four structural sub-types of tales based on the principle of "mutual exclusiveness" of the functions. These four sub-types are: "development through H-1, development through M-N, development through both H-I and M-N, and development without either".¹⁶

The most obligatory function of a tale, according to Propp, is Villainy (A) and Lack (a). Without either one of these functions, the tale would not develop. The four structural sub- types he delineates are apparent at the intermediary level. A tale may start with Villainy or Lack and develop through struggle with the villain and in victory (H-I) or develop through a difficult task and its accomplishment (M-N), or develop through both H-I function in the first move and M-N in the second move, or develop without either of these two types.

A move according to Propp is the "development proceeding from Villainy (A) or a Lack (a), through intermediary functions to marriage (W), or the other functions employed as a de'nouement. *Each new act of villainy, each new lack creates a new move*" [emphasis added].¹⁷

Propp does not rule out the historical possibilities in which a move might have lived as an independent type. Consider his following remarks:

"Thus each move may exist separately, but only a combination of the two moves produces an extremely complete tale. It is quite possible that two types existed historically, that each has its own history and that in some remote epoch the two traditions met and merged into one formation".¹⁸

Propp very skillfully avoids this diachronic question which might have far reaching implications on the controversial problems of traditional tale type, besides the genre theory. Since synchronic description of the tale, in its structural terms, was his main concern, therefore, Propp stops speculating on the historicity of the fairy tale. Hence in this study we are trying to explain the structure of Kashmiri folktales in terms of Propp's functions, and their relation to each other and the tale as a whole. We intend to measure Kashmiri tales and delineate their structural patterns by eliciting the occurrence of the functions, as pairs or in groups forming the combinations of the moves and their specialities. Though all the tales in our data are not strictly speaking fairy tales in the sense of Aarne- Thompson classification, yet we study these so-called non-fairy tales in the wider context of our analytical framework, for they seem to exhibit excellent structural similarities and thus belong to a single structural type.

Propp in his Morphology repeatedly makes it clear, that he delineated the morphology and the morphological rules from the Russian fairy tales; yet he admits that a large number of "non-fairy tales", such as legends, animal tales, novellas and myths also display the same structure. Consider his following remarks:

"On the other hand, non-fairy tales may also be constructed according to the scheme cited. Quite a large number of legends, individual tales about animals, and isolated novellas display the same structure. The term "fairy" therefore, ought to be replaced by another. Finding such a term is very difficult and we shall temporarily leave these tales with their old name. It may be changed in connection with the study of other classes, which will make possible the creation of a terminology. Fairy tales could be called tales subordinated to a seven - personage scheme. This term is highly exact but very awkward. If tales of this class are defined from a historical point of view, they then merit the antique, now discarded, name of mythical tales".¹⁹

This clearly shows that in terms of structural similarities, many more genres other than the traditionally classified "fairy tale", exhibit similar morphological similarities as accepted by Propp and as we are going to show in the following sections. This, however, should not lead to believe that all kinds of tales or folk narratives can be measured by Propp's morphological scheme, e.g., the function, their sequence etc. Many new genres which have established themselves in the narrative phenomenon, do not yield to Proppian structural formulations. These genres undoubtedly are highly structured, but the structure does not resemble the traditional fairy tale or other resembling narrative genre. We are treating such tales separately in our last chapter and therefore it seems appropriate to postpone comment on this aspect of tale genres.

Propp's structural study of the folktale has certainly changed the future of folktale and folklore scholarship of the modern times. It also has raised many questions - questions of far reaching implications. One of the main concerns of post-Proppian scholarship has been to see how far Propp's model works in cross - cultural and cross - generic situations. Similarly attempts to outline universal narrative structure, if any, have also been made by many scholars. Notable scholars who have been working in these directions are: Alan Dundes, B.N. Colby, Claude Bremond, Sunday. O. Anozie, Lubomir Dolozel, Robert Georges, A.J. Greimas, William. O. Hendricks, Bengt Holbek, Heda Jason, Elli Kõngäs Maranda and Pierre Maranda, Lévi - Strauss, E.M. Meletinsky, and Jawaharlal Handoo.²⁰

Our endeavour in this detailed study shall be to describe the structural composition of Kashmiri folktales on the basis of Proppian model. This description will also show the strength and the weaknesses of Propp's model in a cross - cultural (and to some extent in a cross - generic) situation. It might also indirectly help us to formulate our views on the notion of universal narrative structures, although we are aware that more cross - cultural (and probably cross - generic) studies need be carried out, before commenting on such

complex and vast phenomenon. Based on the number of moves a tale is composed of, Kashmiri folktales can be classified into two types :

- (i) Single - Move Tales.
- (ii) Multi - Move Tales.

4.1. Single - Move Tales

In this group those tales are included that have only one move. Such one move tales can be further divided into two sub groups:

- (i) A - K (W)
- (ii) a - K (W)

4.1.1. A - K (W) Type

A-K (W) type tales are those tales which begin with a Villainy (A) leading to a quest and end with the liquidation of the Villainy (K). As said earlier, Villainy (A) and Lack (a) are the only *obligatory functions* in a folktale. Elaborating upon the important differences between Villainy (A) and Lack (a), Propp points out, "in the first instances a certain act is given, the result of which creates an insufficiency and provokes a quest; in the second instance a ready - made insufficiency is presented which also provokes a quest. In the first instance, a lack is created from without, in the second, it is realized from within".²¹ Propp's formulations and even the design of his model show that Lack (a) is the counterpart of Villainy (A). So, it is not without reasons to notice function Lack bracketed with Villainy (8 + 8a: *Villainy* and *Lack*) in his Morphology. Tales in which no Villainy is present, structurally depend on Lack (a) which leads to quests "analogous to those in the case of villainy". The development through Villainy (A) or Lack (a) to its liquidation (K) is the main tale and these functions of the tale are thus termed as the *core functions*.

Another important thing which needs clarification before we go further is the questions of "prefix" and "suffix" functions,²² and their relationship with the structure of the main tale. By "prefix" functions we mean the seven initial functions which Propp terms as "preparatory part" of the tale. Functions such as Absentation (β), Interdiction (γ), Violation (δ) Reconnaissance (ε), Delivery (ζ), Trickery (η), Submission to trickery (θ), leading to actual Villainy or Lack. It needs to be remembered, as Propp admits, that all these seven functions are never encountered in a single tale. Their distribution, as we shall

see later, is determined, in structural terms, by the occurrence of other main or core functions. Similarly "suffix" functions are those functions of the tale that follow the core functions. All the functions that follow the liquidation of lack or villainy namely - Hero's return ($\downarrow$), Pursuit - Rescue (Pr. - Rs.), Unrecognized arrival (O), Claims of a false hero (L), Difficult Task (M) Solution (N), Recognition of the hero (Q), Exposure of the false hero (EX), Transfiguration (T), Punishment (U), Wedding and accession to the throne (W), are thus termed as 'suffix' functions. Here again, a tale may have some or none of these suffix functions. In any case all of them never occur together.

In our data of A - K (W) type tales, the first sub-group of our main chapter on single - move tales, we have further sub-groups of this group; with a number of tales which exhibit structural uniformity in their prefix functions. Some of these have uniform five prefix functions, some four, some three and some two. We shall examine these tales here in the following sections in terms of their such structural qualities.

4.1.2. *Five Prefix Function Tales*

"Prefix" functions which Propp terms "preparatory part" are the first seven functions [absentation (β), interdiction (γ), Violation (δ), reconnaissance (ϵ), delivery (ζ), trickery (η), complicity (θ)] excluding the function *initial* situation (@), which however is not a real function, but an important morphological element and occurs in all kinds of tales, irrespective of their structural length, and quite appropriately allotted the zero status by Propp.

We have no tales in our data which possesses all the seven prefix functions. This is not surprising and seems in quite conformity with the structural principles Propp deciphered in folktales in general. Consider his following remarks:

"The functions of the preparatory section are also wholly subject to these conclusions all seven functions of this section are never encountered within one tale".²³

The highest number of prefix functions, we notice in tales in this section are five. The number of tales in which they occur are three.²⁴ A variant of the second tale²⁵ exhibits only three such functions. Let us examine these tales one by one:

A merchant's stupid son (@) travels to another country with merchandise for trade (β^3). He is advised by his mother to be a good merchant and not to waste money (γ^2). On his journey he is attracted by a gambling den maintained by a wicked woman (δ^1), who invites

him to play a game of *nard* [chess]. The wicked woman plays the game in a dark room under a dim candle light and uses her tamed cat to defeat her rivals (η^3). The stupid merchant is unable to counter the woman's tricks (θ^3) and loses his merchandise, his servants, horses and his own self too ($A^2 15$). He, however, manages to send a message to his wife about his misfortune (B^4). His wise wife seeks the permission of her father-in-law to go to the rescue of her husband (C) and departs disguised as a man with some servants and money ($\uparrow$). She arrives in the den of the wicked woman and attempts to discover the secret of her tricks from her servants (D^2), by bribing them with gold (E^2) and finally succeeds in discovering the secret cat-trick (F^2). The same evening the wise woman is invited for a game, as was her husband. She takes a mouse with her and therefore repulses the cat-trick of the wicked woman (H^3) by letting loose the mouse at the appropriate time and regains her husband, his lost merchandise, enslaves the wicked woman ($I^3 K^{10}$) and returns ($\downarrow$). She reveals her real female self to her husband and both live happily ever after (W^6)²⁶.

The functions of the above tale can be summed up thus:

$\beta^3 \ y^1 \ \delta^1 \ \eta^3 \ \theta^3 \ A^{2.15} \ B^4 \ C \ \uparrow \ D^2 \ E^2 \ F^2 \ H^3 \ I^3 \ K^{10} \ \downarrow \ W^6$

Let us take the other examples of five prefix functions and its variants before we examine some of the structural features of such tales :

A King decides to send his sons with merchandise to far off lands to acquire knowledge and experience (@). Accordingly the prince along with his friend the Wazir's son and his retinue leaves (β^1). At the time of departure the king advises his son "to go withersover he wished but to keep his eyes open and to make as much money as possible" (y). Both wander for sometimes and then board a ship. The ship anchors on an island. The minister's son pretending ill requests the prince to take a long walk alone (η^1). The prince readily agrees ($\theta^1 \delta^1$). The Wazir's son bribes the captain, who sails off leaving the prince alone on the island (A^9). He returns, sells the merchandise and reports to the King the false death of the prince in a storm. Soon the prince discovers the treachery of his friend (B^6). He goes in search of some place to spend night. ($\uparrow$), reaches a spring and goes to sleep near it. At midnight, a heavenly woman appears, wakes up the prince, offers him

food and drink and questions him (D^2). The prince narrates his misfortune (E^2). She presents him valuable jewels (F^1) and leads him out of the island (G^1). The prince arrives home ($K^4 \downarrow$), narrates his friends treachery to the King who eventually orders his execution (U). The prince ascends the throne and lives happily everafter (W^3)²⁷.

The functions of this tale can be summed up thus:

$\beta^1 y^1 \eta^1 \theta^1 \delta^1 A^9 B^6 \uparrow D^2 E^2 F^1 G^3 K^4 \downarrow U W^3$

Another example :

A king goes hunting (β^1), meets a wailing fairy, enquires the cause of her grief and presence in the jungle (ϵ^2). The fairy introduces herself as the daughter of the defeated King of China. The king assures her protection and reveals his royalty (ζ^2). The fairy proposes to him (η^1). The king agrees and marries her (θ^1). Soon the king falls seriously ill because of some mysterious disease (A^{20}). All the King's physicians fail to cure him. Finally a *Jūgy* (seer) who used to frequent the city for collection of the particular mud and water for making the magic potion comes to rest in the king's palace. He takes a little nap and the king steals his magic ointment and the holy water and mud. When the seer awakens, the king questions him. He is convinced of his good intentions and returns his precious ointment and lets him free ($d^7 E^7$). The holy man returns to his master Ryosh (sage) and narrates the episode to him. The Ryosh is pleased with the king and comes to see him. He questions him (D^2). The king tells about his illness (E^2). The sage tells the king that his wife is a *Viha* (serpent) and the cause of his illness; and if he does not get rid of her quickly he would die soon (F^2). At the advice of this sage the king orders an oven to be heated and asks his wife (serpent) to bake bread for him. While she is baking he pushes her into the oven and thus gets rid of her (I^5). Consequently the king is cured (K^8) and later when the oven gets cool, he discovers in the ashes the famous philosopher's stone (W^7).²⁸

This tale thus has following functions:

$\beta^1 \epsilon^2 \zeta^2 \eta^1 \theta^1 A^{20} d^7 E^7 D^2 E^2 F^2 I^5 K^8 W^7$

This tale, as said earlier, has a variant with only three prefix functions.

Alimardan Khan, the king of Kashmir (@), one day goes hunting (β^1). He is warned by an old man not to go further (y^1) as there is a fierce *ajdah* (dragon) living nearby that swallows whatever comes its way. The king obeys and returns to his place ($\delta^1 A^5$). He relates this incident to his ministers and seeks their advice (B^4). They advise him to order fire-filled sheep skins to be scattered along the way of the dragon and also to have two pits dug and filled with boiling oil near the drinking place of the monster. The dragon falls into the trap and dies ($D^2 E^2 F^2 I^5 K^8$). Ali Mardan Khan orders the carcass to be burnt and with the help of the oldman discovers the precious philosopher's stone in the ashes (W^7).²⁹

The functions of this variant can be summed as follows :

$\beta^1 y^1 \delta^1 A^5 B^4 D^2 E^2 F^2 I^5 KW^7$

After having compared both the variants of this tale, it would be interesting to compare their structural qualities which might in return, shed some more light on the question of type we discussed in the beginning of this chapter. A nice way to do this comparison is to look at the functions of the variants :

Variant I: $\beta^1 \epsilon^2 \delta^2 \eta^1 \theta^1 A^{20} d^7 E^7 D^2 E^2 F^2 I^5 K^8 W^7$

Variant II: $\beta^1 y^1 \delta^1 A^5 B^4 D^2 E^2 F^2 I^5 K^8 W^7$

It is obvious that despite the variation in the number of functions, the core structure of the tales remains intact. That both are essentially A - K(W) type needs hardly to be emphasized.

Before we move to the next section, some important structural features of the tales described in this section need be viewed in the context of both Propp's general formulations and our discussions concerning this chapter. One of the main structural qualities, which the tales we described here exhibit is the pair functions. For instance, Interdiction - Violations ($y-\delta$) as a pair occurs in the tales: "All for a Pañsa" and the "Base Friend", but is absent in the next tale, "The Philosopher's Stone" (and present again as a pair in its variant). Its place is taken by another equally important pair Reconnaissance - Delivery ($\epsilon-\zeta$). Similarly the other pair Trickery - Complicity ($\eta-\theta$) is present in all the tales (except

Two more important aspects which are clearly exhibited by the above data need to be considered here. The first concerns the allomorphic³⁰ forms of Villainy (A) and is again related to the problem of pair functions, and the other, the movement of elements in the broader tale - syntax.

Propp lists nineteen allomorphs or forms in which the function Villainy is realized in Russian fairy tales. Although most of these forms seem to be universally present in fairy tales, yet the possibility of new forms or the absence of many should neither look impossible nor unusual. For instance, in our data here ("The Philosopher's Stone") and in the following sections, as we shall see later, we notice that one of the forms, morphologically speaking, through which the act of villainy is realized, is causing disease.³¹ Therefore this form certainly determines the nature of the form in which liquidation of the villainy is achieved, and thus realized.

The other important feature which is evident here is the movement of functions within the general tale - syntax. For instance in the tale of "The Base Friend", punishment of the villain (U) occurs as an important function. The actual position of this element in the tale - syntax as delineated by Propp is at the end, just before the Wedding (W). In other words, the element belongs to the second half of the Proppian model or the tales which have Pursuit and the functions which follow it. Needless to say that tales which lack the struggle and the pursuit part, end with the liquidation of villainy and punishment, followed by Wedding in its various forms. This can not be generalized but the data under analysis suggests this very clearly.

4.1.3. Four Prefix Function Tales

We have only two tales in this section. One of these tales is available in three versions and falls into this category. The tale is as follows:

A king has three queens, and two daughters from the first two queens (@). When the third queen becomes pregnant the elder queens fear the birth of a son and a natural successor, they plot to substitute the baby with a bird. The mid-wife of the queen is bribed to do the job ($\epsilon^1 \zeta^1$). The midwife at the time of the birth of the baby tells the anxious queen that she delivered a certain kind of bird [a crow] (η^3). The disgusted queen requests the cunning midwife to keep it a secret (θ^3). Consequently the baby boy is placed in a wooden box and thrown into the river ($A^{10,12}$). The boy is rescued by a gardener.

Next year the queen again delivers a boy, who meets the same fate as the first one ($\epsilon^1 \zeta^1 n^3 \theta^3 A^{10,12}$). This time too he is rescued by the same gardener.

The third year again the unlucky queen delivers twins - a son and a daughter, who meet the same fate at the hands of the jealous queens. ($\epsilon^1 \zeta^1 \eta^3 \theta^3 A^{10,12}$). The twins are again rescued by the same gardener. The jealous queens frightened by the thought that their plot of substitution might fail one day, plot to get rid of the fertile queen. They tell the king about the "strange birds" that are born repeatedly to the third queen. Angry and suspicious the king orders banishment of the queen (A^9).

After sometime the two wicked queens come to know of the gardener and the babies, he has rescued ($\epsilon^1 \zeta^1$). They dispatch a woman emissary to plot their destruction. The woman befriends the girl and tells her of the talking bird (η^3). The girl desires to have the bird (θ^3). The elder brother departs in search of the bird ($BC \uparrow$), meets a *jugy* (seer) who gives the boy a pebble and an earthen pot and instructs him to throw the pebble and follow it to a particular mountain where he would hear a great noise and his name would be called, but he should not look back. If he does he will be changed into a stone (D^1). The boy follows the pebble but does not follow the other instructions, (E neg.) is therefore turned into stone (F cont.). The second brother meets a similar fate (D^1 E neg. F Cont.). Finally the youngest brother follows the instructions strictly and reaches the mountain ($D^1 E^1 F^2 G^3$) and succeeds in catching the magical bird. He fills the pot with magic waters of the golden lake, revives his brothers (K^7) and returns ($\downarrow$). The talking bird supplies them with food and riches and narrates the secret of the treacherous queens to the king. The queens are punished (U) and the banished queen is welcomed back into the palace along with her children (W^6)³².

The functions of this tale are :

$\epsilon^1 \zeta^1 \eta^3 \theta^3 A^{10} 12$	$\epsilon^1 \zeta^1 \eta^3 \theta A^{10} 12$
$\epsilon^1 \zeta^1 \eta^3 \theta^3 A^{10} 12$	$A^9 \epsilon^1 \zeta^1 \eta^3 \theta^3 B^3 C \uparrow D^1 E \text{ neg.}$
F neg. $D^1 E \text{ neg.}$ F neg.	$D^1 E^1 F^2 G^3 K^7 \downarrow U W^6$

If we remove repetitions the actual functions of the tale would thus be:

$$\epsilon^1 \zeta^1 \eta^3 \theta^3 A^9, 10, 12 \text{ BC } \uparrow D^1 E^1 F^2 G^3 K^7_8 \downarrow U W^6$$

As said earlier this tale has the following two variants :

Variant I

A king has three wives but no son (@). The third wife conceives and the other two queens feel jealous and plot to substitute the baby boy with a pup ($\epsilon^1 \zeta^1 \eta^3 \theta^3$). They succeed and throw the boy born to the third wife into a carpenter's shop ($A^9 12$). After some time the queen conceives again and the second son born to her meets the same fate as the first one ($\epsilon^1 \zeta^1 \eta^3 \theta^3 A^9 12$). The king is informed of the "strange creatures" born to his queen, he banishes her (A^9).

The carpenter brings up the boys. The king while passing by the carpenter's shop ($\uparrow$) is attracted by the two beautiful boys playing nearby. He notices the boys forcing a wooden horse to drink and eat (d^7). Surprised, the king asks: "How can a wooden horse eat or drink?" (E^7). Reminding the king of his own deeds the boys respond by saying: "How can a queen give birth to a pup?" (F^2). The king realizes his mistake, discovers the truth (KF^2). He returns ($\downarrow$) and punishes the wicked queens and the midwife (U), recalls back his banished queen and her sons ($W^{6,33}$).

The functions of this variant are :

$$\epsilon^1 \zeta^1 \eta^3 \theta^3 A^9 12 \epsilon^1 \zeta^1 \eta^3 \theta^3 A^9 12 A^9 \uparrow d^7 E^7 F^2 KF^2 \downarrow U W^6$$

Without repetitions the actual functions of this tale would be:

$$\epsilon^1 \zeta^1 \eta^3 \theta^3 A^9 12 \uparrow d^7 E^7 F^2 K \downarrow U W^6$$

Variant II

A king has four wives but no son (@). He marries again and the new wife conceives. The other queens out of jealousy plot substitution of the boy born to the new wife and put him in a wooden box and throw him into the river ($\epsilon^1 \zeta^1 \eta^3 \theta^3 A^{10}_{12}$). At the same time the mother is thrown into a stable (A^9).

The boy is rescued and picked up by a holy man. One day the queens see the boy and recognize him ($\epsilon^1 \zeta^1$). They again plot to kill him and

manage to send him to bring a sandalwood tree with golden branches and pearl-flowers ($\eta^3 \theta^3 B^2$). The boy departs in search of the magic tree ($\uparrow$). He meets an old woman who questions, and persuades him not to endanger his life, but the boy remains adamant ($D^1 E^1$). Convinced, the old woman instructs the boy as to how to get the magic tree (F^2). The boy guided by the old woman's advice acquires the magic tree and returns ($K^4 \downarrow$). He is again helped by the old woman and returns with success ($B^2 \uparrow D^1 E^1 F^2 K^4 \downarrow$). Soon the king comes to know the truth, rewards the boy and recalls the banished queen (W^6).³⁴

The functions of this variant are :

$$\begin{array}{cccccccccccccccc} \varepsilon^1 & \zeta^1 & \eta^3 & \theta^3 & A^{10}_{12} & A^9 & \varepsilon^1 & \zeta^1 & \eta^3 & \theta^3 & B^2 & \uparrow & D^1 & E^1 & F^2 & K^4 & \downarrow & B^2 & \uparrow \\ D^1 & E^1 & F^2 & K^4 & \downarrow & W^6 & & & & & & & & & & & & & \end{array}$$

The actual functions without repetitions are :

$$\varepsilon^1 \quad \zeta^1 \quad \eta^3 \quad \theta^3 \quad A^{10,12,9} \quad B^2 \quad \uparrow \quad D^1 \quad E^1 \quad F^2 \quad K^4 \quad \downarrow \quad W^6$$

In order to gain a little insight into the basic structure of this tale, it is necessary to place the actual functions of this tale and its two variants side by side so that the basic features of the main structure are recognised.

$$\varepsilon^1 \quad \zeta^1 \quad \eta^3 \quad \theta^3 \quad A^{9,10,12} \quad B \quad C \quad \uparrow \quad D^1 \quad E^1 \quad F^2 \quad G^3 \quad K^7_8 \quad \downarrow \quad U \quad W^6$$

$$\varepsilon^1 \quad \zeta^1 \quad \eta^3 \quad \theta^3 \quad A^{9,12} \quad \uparrow \quad d^7 \quad E^7 \quad F^2 \quad K^4 \quad \downarrow \quad U \quad W^6$$

$$\varepsilon^1 \quad \zeta^1 \quad \eta^3 \quad \theta^3 \quad A^{9,10,12} \quad B^2 \quad \uparrow \quad D^1 \quad E^1 \quad F^2 \quad K^4 \quad \downarrow \quad W^6$$

The above arrangement makes it very clear that all the variants belong to one structural type. If one were to reconstruct the original form of this tale, one would easily do so by reducing the tale to the basic functions and their order in the following manner:

$$\varepsilon \quad \zeta \quad \eta \quad \theta \quad A \quad B \quad \uparrow \quad D \quad E \quad F \quad K \quad \downarrow \quad W$$

Let us examine another example :

A Brahmin's snake turns into a beautiful son Nḍgray and is married to princess Himal (@). Nḍgray's snake-wives search for him in the upper world (ε^1). They discover that he has married Himal (ζ^1). One of Nḍgray's wives disguised as a prostitute tricks Himal to believe

that her husband is a sweeper - an outcaste. To prove this she suggests to Himal to ask Nḍgyray to wash himself in a particular water spring (abode of the under world snake-wives and way to the under world], and if he sinks then he is a sweeper (η^1). Disgusted Himal insists on Nḍgyray to prove his caste (θ^1) and naturally looses him (A^1). Distressed Himal looses interest in life and distributes all her belongings among the poor and needy. One day, a beggar after having received alms from her and having heard her story tells her of a king, he had seen the previous night, offering food at a nearby water spring in the name of "foolish Himal" ($d^7 E^7 F^2$). The beggar leads her to the water spring (G^2). She waits there till night fall, sees Nḍgyray and insists on going with him. Aware of the danger he turns her into a pebble and carries her with him to the bottom of the underworld (G^2). On seeing Himal the jealous snake-wives bite her to death (A^{14}). Grieved Nḍgyray places her corpse under a tree in the upper world. One morning a holy man happens to pass that way and restores Himal to life ($D F^6 \text{ } _9 K^9$). Next day Nḍgyray finding the corpse missing follows Himal to the holy man's hut and finds her sleeping on a bed. The holyman's son seeing Nḍgyray [in snake form] near Himal's bed kills him (A^{14}). Nḍgyray's corpse is burnt and Himal joins the burning pyre. Grieved holy man having over-heard a conversation between Shiva and Parvati (disguised as birds) (D^1), collects the ashes of both the victims (E^2) and throws them into the nearby water spring (F^3) and revives them (K^9). They both live happily everafter (W^6)³⁵.

The functions of this tale, therefore, are :

$$\varepsilon^1 \zeta^1 \eta^1 \theta^1 A^1 d^7 E^7 F^2 G^2 [A^{14} D^1 F^6 \text{ } _9 K^9] [A^{14} D^1 E^2 F^2 \text{ } _3 K^9] W^6$$

Without repetitions the functions would be :

$$\varepsilon^1 \zeta^1 \eta^1 \theta^1 A^{1,14} D E F G^2 K^9 W^6$$

The structural similarity or sometimes the identicalness of versions - one of the basic attributes of the folktale and many other forms of folklore - seems, as we indicated in the earlier sections, an unjustifiable criterion of structural analysis more so of Proppian syntagmatic structural analysis. The above example, as do many more, clearly show the differences in functions, their quality and occurrence at the deeper syntagmatic structure, as it would to justify the concept of a variant or version at the surface structure of motif or meaning.

A striking feature of the tales (including the variants) of this section is repetition - repetition of elements of a tale which at times, even violates the structural norms. That repetition is a well recognized quality of folklore in general needs hardly to be emphasized. Even those scholars who do not believe in structural theories and methods would not easily deny this universal quality of folklore, so much so that folklorists, both pre-Proppian and post-Proppian, have been concerned about the problem. "Every-time", remarks Axel Olrik, "that a striking scene occurs in a narrative and continuity permits, the scene is repeated. This is necessary not only to build tension, but to fill out the body of the narrative".³⁶ Colby on the other hand observes that "the frequency with which its [the tale's] elements are repeated within the tale and the degree of patterning of these elements indicate the importance of the topics [semantic fields] treated in the folktale to the people of the culture".³⁷ Lévi - Strauss on the other hand considers repetition as a tool to make the structure known. "Repetition", observes he, "has as its function to make the structure of the myth apparent".³⁸

Propp observed the phenomenon of repetition in his data very closely and commented upon its two - fold aspects:

"Repetition may appear as a uniform distribution (three tasks, three years service), as an accumulation (the third task is most difficult, the third battle the worst) or may twice produce negative results before the third, successful out-come. Sometimes actions may simply be repeated mechanically; but at other times, to avoid a further development of the action, it is necessary to introduce certain elements which hold up the development and call for repetition".³⁹

As a structuralist Propp seems unconcerned about the semantic aspects of repetition and his views are thus very close to the views expressed by Olrik, as far as the function of repetition goes. At the same time if one looks at the first para of Propp's remarks, one is tempted to connect it with the observations of both Colby and Lévi - Strauss; and examine the present tale and its variants (although taken as independent units, they exhibit a repetitive uniformity of their own). These variants suggest a pattern which seems tied to number three.⁴⁰ For instance the tale has three queens, three male children are born, they are substituted with birds or animals three times, they grow into three handsome youths, difficult tasks are proposed to them three times, they attempt to accomplish these tasks three times, donors help them three times and above all the tale itself has three versions. Similarly the second tale also shows such distribution, though not so intensely, yet repetition however remains important feature in this tale as well.

4.1.4. Three Prefix Function Tales

Like the above section, we have two tales which have only three prefix functions. These tales are as follows:

A King out on hunting (@ β^1) meets a lonely princess in a well-kept garden and proposes to her, by saying he would marry her in the woods and leave her in the woods (ϵ^1). The princess responds by saying that she too would like to have a son from the king who would eventually marry the same king's daughter (ζ^1). The king marries the princess and banishes her without consummating the marriage (A^9). Waiting for a couple of years, the princess finally decides to do something, and seeks permission of her father to travel in neighboring kingdoms ($B^3 C$). She leaves home ($\uparrow$) and after a little wanderings with her retinue, she soon arrives in the kingdom of her husband (G^2) in disguise, and seeks a meeting with the king [her husband]. The king is fascinated by her beauty and invites her to his bed (D^7). She accepts the invitation (E^7). After sometime, when she conceives she returns to her father's house and gives birth to a son. (F^1). The son is brought up with great care and trained as a master thief. He is sent into his father's kingdom, where he indulges in a series of startling thefts that the king's best secret police services also fail to book him (H^2). Finally the king promises throne and the hand of princess if the master thief surrenders. The thief [prince] accepts the condition, calls his banished mother who reveals his and her own identity ($I^2 K^4 \downarrow$). The king seeks forgiveness and all live happily everafter (W^6).⁴¹

The functions of this tale are :

$\beta^1 \epsilon^1 \zeta^1 A^9 B^3 C \uparrow G^2 D^7 E^7 F^1 H^2 I^2 K^4 \downarrow W^6$

The other tale is as follows :

A king while strolling in his palace gardens finds a stag trampling his green lawns (@). He follows the stag beyond the boundaries of his kingdom and is lost (β^1). He arrives in a neighbouring kingdom in a state of utter depression, and wants to sell the pearl necklace (that he finds during his wanderings) to a local goldsmith. The goldsmith plays

treachery and falsely accuses the king of theft ($\eta^3 \theta^3$). The king of this country orders amputation of his feet and banishment ($A^{6,9}$). The just queen opposes the king's cruel decision, she too is banished (A^9). They travel together ($\uparrow$), she nurses him and marries him. Soon they beget a son who falls into a nearby well and dies (A^{14}). The king and his wife lament the loss (B^7). At that time *Sodibrōr* and *Bodibrōr* perch on a tree and talk about the unfortunate king. They speak that if the king jumps into the well, he would revive his child and get back his feet as well (d^7). The king quickly jumps into the well (E^2) saves his child and regains his feet (KF). The king returns to his kingdom ($\downarrow$), invades the unjust king (H^1), defeats him (I^1), and executes the wicked goldsmith (U). They live happily everafter (W^1).⁴²

The functions of this tale are :

$\beta^1 \eta^3 \theta^3 A^{6,9} A^9 A^{14} B^7 d^7 E^2 KF \downarrow H^1 I^1 U^1 W^1$

The terms of trebling of the elements, the functions can be shown as follows:

$\beta^1 \eta^3 \theta^3 A :^{6,9,14} B^7 d^7 E^2 KF \downarrow H^1 I^1 U W^1$

Two important structural aspects, which seem to have emerged very prominently in the tales in this section need consideration. One is the concept of hero and has relevance to some tales discussed in the other sections as well, and the other is the question of villain/donor roles which have emerged in the case of the first tale. As we shall see later, this second aspect has relevance to many other tales, we are going to examine in the following sections.

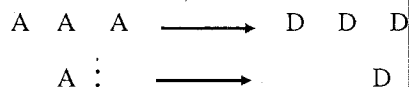
Let us look at the problem of hero. Propp deciphers two types of heroes, structurally important for tales. According to him:

"The hero of the tale may be one of the two types (1) if a young girl is kidnapped, and disappears from the horizon of her father (and that of the listener), and if Ivan goes off in search of her, then the hero of the tale is Ivan not the kidnapped girl. Heroes of this type may be termed *seeker*. (2) If a young girl or boy is seized or driven out and the thread of the narrative is linked to his or her fate and not those who remain behind, then the hero of the tale is the seized or banished boy or girl. There are no seekers in such tales. Heroes of this variety may be called *victimized heroes*".⁴³

In view of this structural definition of the hero we find that the first tale in this section shows a kind of mixed pattern of the hero concept. In other words we notice that it is a clear transformation⁴⁴ as far as the role of hero is concerned. The hero (or the heroine) who is victimized, and the thread of the tale moves with her, becomes a seeker hero (either directly or through the agent - son). Even if the son is disconnected from the main role of hero and given an independent status of a hero - a shift which does not seem likely in view of the structural definition of hero in particular and the morphological analysis of the tales in general - our analysis that he still remains a seeker hero does not change. In Kashmiri tales, as we shall see later more clearly and more frequently, this kind of transformation in the roles of the hero seems one of the basic characteristics.

Of equal importance and perhaps closely related with the above phenomenon, is the problem of role change between the donor and the villain. The change from a seeker to a victimized hero or vice - versa, morphologically speaking, still remain positive roles, unlike a change, when a donor turns into a villain or vice - versa and the roles change from positive to negative or from negative to positive. This tale is a very good example of this transformation. One can notice that it is the villain who becomes a donor in the tale of "Shabrang the Thief", or rather he is tricked into donorship. This, as in the above case, also seems an important characteristics of Kashmiri tales.

Another important feature noticeable in the second tale, and in other tales as well is the frequent occurrence of villainy as trebling (:) of the function Villainy. There is a very clear morphological distinction between repetitions and trebling.⁴⁵ Repetitions are more mechanical or sometimes a mark of intensification as we noticed in the previous section. On the other hand, trebling is "an element which links the first implementation with the second or the second with the third."⁴⁶ This is quite clearly evidenced by this tale. For example, if the king was not maimed (first Villainy) the queen would not be banished (second Villainy). It seems that when the Villainy occurs in the form of repetition, it is followed by the repetition of donor's act as well, and in a case of trebling, a trebling of donor's act may not be necessary. Therefore one of the function of Villainy can formulate tentatively the following rule based on the mutual exclusiveness of the combinations of these functions:



4.1.5. Two Prefix Function Tales

In this section we have two tales which possess two - prefix function characteristics. These are:

One wealthy king has a son and another equally wealthy king a daughter. Both are married (@). While returning with his bride the prince halts in a certain garden - abode of fairies. Fascinated by the handsome prince the fairies decide to own him and they charm the prince into a death - like sleep ($\eta^2 \theta^2 A^{11}$). While the princess mourns the "death" of the prince two birds [*Sod-bror* and *Bod-bror*] tell her that the prince is not dead and therefore should not be buried. The princess leaves the garden and announcing the misfortune to her parents seeks their permission to search and revive the prince ($B^3 C$). She leaves home ($\uparrow$), reaches the garden, finds her husband, who warns her of the dangers. Meanwhile the fairies smelling human intrusion take away the prince. He somehow manages to throw flowers en-route and the princess follows the route (G^3), reaches a huge mansion, the abode of an old giant [*dyav*], who instructed the fairies in all manner of magic. This giant's daughter sometime back had been abducted by some other stronger giant. Seeing the princess, he presumes that his daughter has returned and questions her (D^2). The princess, benefiting from the situation, replies that she escaped from the giant (E^2). Soon the giant teaches her the art of making dead alive and also the trick of finding hidden objects (F^1). The princess with the help of this knowledge learns that the fairies have concealed her husband in an ear-ring. She borrows the ear-ring from the fairies which they reluctantly give (H^2-I^2) and once she gets it, she extricates her husband (K^8), flees the place and arrives home ($\downarrow$) along with her husband. Soon the prince becomes the king and the princess his queen (W^2).⁴⁷

The functions of this tale therefore are :

$\eta^2 \theta^2 A^{11} B^4 C \uparrow G^3 D^2 F^1 H^2 I^2 K^8 \downarrow W^2$

Another example is as follows :

A cruel and cunning merchant (@) while hiring his servants makes a contract which provides that if any party (the employee or the employer) shows anger and uses abusive language his nose will be cut off (η^1). Many innocent good workers get trapped in the merchant's trap and lose their noses ($\theta^1 A^6$). One victim's younger brother plans to wreck vengeance on the merchant ($B^3 C$) and seeks employment in the merchant's house ($\uparrow$). The clever servant knows the conditions of the contract and therefore follows his master's instructions *literally* instead of following the hidden message in them, and thus gives enough cause of anger to the merchant. The merchant shows anger and uses abusive language (H^2). The clever servant invokes the conditions of the contract and cuts his nose ($I^2 K^1$), and returns ($\downarrow$).⁴⁸

The functions of this tale are :

$\eta^1 \theta^1 [\wedge] A^6 B^3 C \uparrow H^2 I^2 K^1 \downarrow$

Except that the initial pair of functions are same. These two tales do not show much structural similarity and therefore need be examined separately.

In the first tale, two morphological qualities become evident. One, just like the examples we examined in the previous section, the role-change between the villain/donor is very evident here, which also explains why the villain is neither punished nor killed. At the time, he would have deserved this action on the part of the hero (heroine); the role-change was complete and the villain had ceased to be a villain. Propp does present examples of "magnanimous pardon" (Uneg.), in which case the villain escapes unpunished, but, he does not link this issue with the problem of role-change.

The second tale, obviously not a fairy tale, and yet quite convincingly seems to yield to the morphological analysis we have been trying on fairy tales and related types so far. This also shows, to some extent, the strength of the morphological analysis in a cross-generic situation. However, the following characteristics of such tales should be noted.

- (i) Such tales seem to lack donors/helpers. Usually the hero fulfills the role of the donor/helper.
- (ii) The hero liquidates villainy by employing the same means the villain had used against him. In such cases the forms of villainy and punishment tend to be identical.

4.1.6. Zero - Prefix Function Tales

By zero prefix function tales, we mean tales which lack the entire set of prefix functions. Tales of this group begin with direct Villainy. We have four such tales in this section. One has a variant as well.

Example :

An extravagant prince (@) is banished from his country (A^9). Three friends join him ($\uparrow$). The prince carries with him a bagful of rubies for the travel expenses, and soon, one night, his rubies, except one, are stolen (A^2). All four decide to sell the only ruby for livelihood (B^4). The king in whose country they are traveling orders their arrest (D^8) and confiscation of the ruby. The prince and his friends plead for innocence, request for the return of the ruby (E^8). The king promises to return if they succeed in identifying their ruby in a set of identical rubies all placed in identical boxes. The box with their ruby opens on its own (F^6) and the ruby is won back (K^6), along with the other rubies. The king offers throne and his daughter to the prince (W^1).⁴⁹

The functions of this tale are :

$A^9 \uparrow A^2 B^4 D^8 E^8 F^6 K^6 W^1$

Another example :

A king has a wicked wazir [minister] (@), who plots to kill the king and seize the throne (A^{13}). Warned by his pet *Zalgur* [magic - horse] (B^4), the king abdicates ($\uparrow$) and takes refuge in a butcher's house in another country. the butcher robs him of all money including the magic horse and enslaves him (A^{215}). One day while working, the enslaved king is approached by the princess of the country who inquires about his antecedents (D^2). He narrates his tragic tale to her (E^2). The princess falls in love and marries him (F^69). Having known the truth the father of the princess orders the death of the butcher, and the return of the magic horse to the king ($K^{10} U$). Furthermore, the king supported by a strong force recaptures his lost throne and kills the wicked minister ($K^1 \downarrow U$). Both the king and queen live happily everafter (W^1).⁵⁰

The functions of this tale are :

$A^{13} B^4 \uparrow A^{2_{15}} D^2 E^2 F^6_9 K^{10} U K^1 \downarrow U W^1$

It is interesting to note that the repetition of a few functions, particularly Villainy in the above tales leads to the repetitions of those functions as well which liquidate such Villainy and reestablish the equilibrium. This can be clearly shown if we place the functions of both these tales side by side:

$A^9 \uparrow [A^2] B^4 D^8 E^8 F^6 K^6 W^1$

$A^{13} B \uparrow [A^{2_{15}}] D^2 E^2 F^6_9 K^{10} U [K^1 \downarrow U] W^1$

As it often happens that the recurrence or repetition of function, for obvious structural needs, does necessitate the recurrence of related functions. But what is more important is the fact that the repeated elements exhibit an equal degree of regularity as one witnesses in the main functions. This aspect of repetitions is clearly indicated in the above tales.

Another Example :

A king's son marries thrice (@). Another powerful king declares war and defeats the king. The royal household is forced to flee (A^{19}). The third wife of the prince carries with her seven precious rubies. In the country of refuge the princess gives a ruby to the king for buying some food. The king approaches a cunning merchant who tricks him and deprives him of the precious stone. Ashamed the king does not return home (A^2_9). Next the princess sends the prince with another ruby, he too meets the same fate at the hands of the cunning merchant (A^2_9). Third time the princess sends the queen, who too meets the same fate (A^2_9). The princess finally decides to go in search of her people (B^3). Disguised as a man she leaves the place ($\uparrow$), arrives in another country and wins the confidence of the king. The king whose country has been torn by the attacks of an *ajdah* [dragon] seeks the help of the princess in disguise (d^7). The princess slays the dragon (E^7), and is "married" to the king's daughter (E^1). With the help of her newly acquired status the princess reaches a palace on cross roads (G^3) and succeeds in meeting her lost family members and the recovery of the precious stones (K^4). The princess reveals her identity, musters a large force

and along with her royal relatives fights a battle (H^1), defeats the powerful villain (I^1) and regains the lost kingdom ($K^1 \downarrow$), ascends the throne and lives happily everafter (W^3).⁵¹

The functions of this tale thus are :

$A^{19} [A^2_9 A^2_9 A^2_9] B^3 \uparrow d^7 E^7 F^1 G^3 K^4 H^1 I^1 K^1 \downarrow W^3$

II Variant

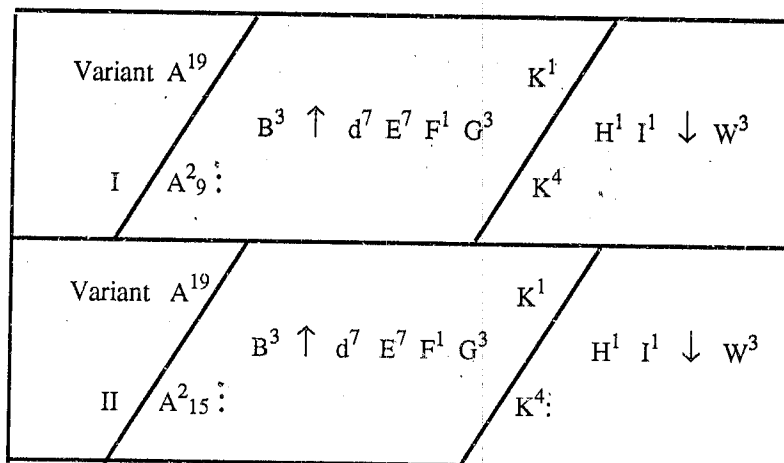
A king defeated in battle is forced to flee with his family (A^{19}). The princess, his daughter-in-law carries eleven rubies with her. She gives one ruby to the king to buy some food. The king approaches a cunning merchant who takes away his ruby and throws him in a pit (A^{215}). The prince and the queen also meet the same fate (A^{215}), one after the other (A^{215}). Finally the princess herself leaves to search for her people ($B^3 \uparrow$). She meets the cunning merchant and succeeds in the recovery of royal relations and the rubies (K^4). The princess disguised as a man takes up a job with a merchant whose all children are devoured by a *dagin* (Ogress). The merchant seeks the "man's" help (d^7). The ogress is killed and the new comer saved (E^7). The merchant marries his sister with the "man" and presents a good portion of his wealth (F^1).⁵²

Rest of the tale evidences the same functions with the same arrangement as in the above tales i.e., ($G^3 K^4 H^1 I^1 K^1 \downarrow W$).

Thus the functions of this tale are :

$A^{19} [A^{215} A^{215} A^{215}] B^3 \uparrow K^4 d^7 E^7 F^1 G^3 K^4 H^1 I^1 K^1 \downarrow W^3$

It would be interesting to compare the functions of both these variants and comment on the phenomenon of repetition, trebling and the structural changes that occur in a variant. The best way to do that is to examine the functions of both the versions in the following manner:



The question of variant or version and the structure, which we dealt with summarily earlier, seems to crop up again in respect of the above tale. As is obvious, these two versions have more structural similarities than the ones we examined earlier. Thematic variance, represented to some extent by the structure can clearly be noticed in this tale when one looks at it from the angle of morphological elements and the forms in which they are realized. For instance, the identicalness in the morphological elements and their sequence is broken by the forms of repetitive Villainy and its corresponding forms of Liquidation. These differences then are:

Version I : A ⁹ :
Version II : A ¹⁵ : K ⁴ :

In other words the form of repetitive Villainy is dissimilar. Similarly the form of Liquidation in the second version is repeated twice. If we look at the roots from which these variants emerge, we notice that the allomorphs are different (A⁹) = expulsion, (A¹⁵) = imprisonment, detention. Similarly the repetition of the form of liquidation in the second version seems in correspondence with the repetitive form of villainy which differentiates it from the first version.

This tale as is clear from its syntax, is a "seeker hero" tale with repetitive villainy, and its liquidation seems to form a structure of its own. It would seem for example, that the tale has a main villainy and a secondary villainy of lesser force both being liquidated in the corresponding strength. A simplified manner of showing its syntactic structure would be:

A¹ A ——— K K¹

In order to dispel doubts that the tale is purely of one move and not of two moves, it is necessary to note that the tale does not have the requisite functions and their combinations which could warrant two moves. If one does not confuse the functions D E F with H I, then this doubt does not remain.

The last example in this section is as follows:

A wise and kind king does everything to make his people prosper (@) but still finds his country in shambles due to the villainous acts of a cruel alchemist (A⁵). The king in order to know the cause of the misery of his subjects, leaves in disguise (C ↑). The villain allures the king into his home where surprisingly enough he discovers the villain through his own wife (D¹ E¹). The alchemist's wife gives him three *Kulcas* [pancakes] (F¹) with instructions for use, and asks the king to leave at once. The king obeys (K¹ ↓), but the alchemist's three blood hounds pursue him (Pr.³). With the help of the pancakes the king escapes pursuit (Rs²) and orders execution of the villainous alchemist (U). The king makes the alchemist's wife incharge of his harem (W).⁵³

The functions of this tale are :

A⁵ C ↑ D¹ E¹ F¹ K¹ ↓ Pr.³ Rs² U [W²]

Single move tales which exceptionally possess the functions exclusively meant for the multi - move tales, are termed " complicated instances" by Propp. He gives examples of such tales, which show such complexities.⁵⁴ Undoubtedly the number of such complex cases both in Propp's and our data is limited. However, this complex nature of some examples justifies the structural position that the elements of a tale move to and fro in an acceptable "ordered" manner. This example tells us clearly that even if Pursuit (Pr.) or Rescue (Rs.) have to occur in this type of tales, they invariably have to occur in place of struggle (H) and Victory (I). This does not mean that in single or multimove tales, these sets of functions are mutually exclusive. However, the following sequential combinations form the patterns:

- (i) in tales where H - I is replaced by Pr. and Rs., K and ↓ precede the latter, i.e., K ↓ [Pr.- Rs.].
- (ii) in tales where only H - I fulfill the functions, K ↓ follow, i.e., [HI] K ↓ .

4.2. a - K (w) Type

a - K or Lack - Lack Liquidated type of tales show a close structural resemblance with the type of tales we examined in the previous section. Instead of direct Villainy (A), such tales begin or trigger the tale off with some kind of Lack (a) - a state of insufficiency or inadequacy. Consider the following remarks of Propp :

" these tales proceed from a certain situation of insufficiency or lack, and it is this that leads to quests analogous to those in the case of villainy lack can be considered as the morphological equivalent of seizure, for example".⁵⁵

Given this definition of lack, it is not without reason that one finds this important function bracketed as "morphological equivalent" of Villainy (VIII a). Alan Dundes termed the situation a development from disequilibrium to equilibrium. "Disequilibrium, a state to be feared and avoided if possible", writes Dundes, "may be seen as a state of surplus or of lack, depending upon the point of view".⁵⁶

Lack type tales are, as I said earlier, structurally similar to Villainy type tales in the sense that except the beginning, rest of the structure may follow almost the same course in both types of tales. For instance in the Villainy type tales villainous act evokes action, leads to departure, a search or quest resulting in the liquidation of villainy. In the same manner the realization of lack in the other type of tales provokes a quest or a search till the sought for person, object etc., is obtained and the lack liquidated. In both the cases the hero accomplishes the task with the help of a donor and his magical helper, or only helper, or both. Tales which lack donors or helpers, quite often thrust this role on the hero who performs both, the role of a hero and a self donor. These similarities, however, do not seem to justify an identical structure of both these types, nor do they encourage to group them together for analysis. It certainly is not a question of simply replacing Villainy (A) with Lack (a) and vice versa and the other things being same. This basic replacement and the resultant corresponding changes make two different structures, and hence two types of tales. For example, consider the following points:

- (i) a - K type tales begin directly with Lack, prefix or "preparatory" functions remain totally absent in such tales. This is true of zero - prefix functions tales of A - K type too, yet in these tales it is an optional element. In a-K type tales it is completely absent.

- (ii) a - K type tales, conforming to the logistics of the kind of insufficiency, do not possess Struggle - Victory (H -I) developments. In the case of A - K type tales, as we noticed in a few examples earlier, the absence of this development is often filled by its corresponding equivalents such as Punishment (U) or Pursuit - Rescue (Pr. Rs.).
- (iii) In terms of tale length and complexities a - K type tales are shorter and simpler than the A - K type tales.
- (iv) There are comparatively less repetitions in a - K type tales. Wherever they occur, they do not appear in a patterned form.

We have five a-K (W) or lack type tales in our data. These five tales fall into two simple categories - the complex type, i.e., development through M - N and non - complex type, i.e., development through D E F. In the first category we have only one tale while in the second we have four tales.

4.2.1 Development Through M - N

Tales which are M - N move oriented, as discussed earlier, have a difficult task and its resolution as the main pair of functions which triggers the action and takes the tales to their logical conclusion. Tales with this pair of development usually do not have struggle - victory an essential characteristics of villainy type tales. Based on this norm of the "logical unity of tales", Propp formulated certain rules which seem operational in mutually exclusive conditions.⁵⁷ The M - N type example is as follows :

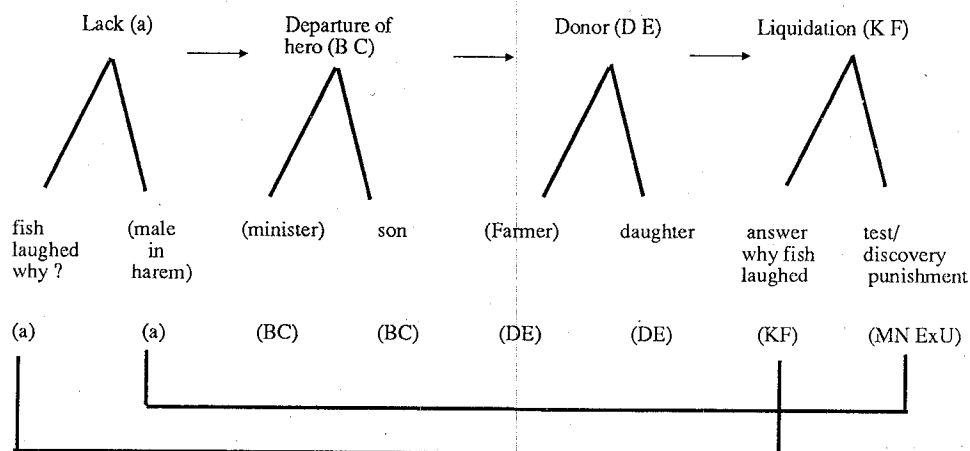
A king and his queen (@). The queen sees a woman selling fish and desires to know her sex for she would like to buy only a female fish. The fish surprises both by a laugh (a⁶). The queen wants to know why the fish laughed. The king orders his *wazir* [minister] to find the truth. The minister deposes his intelligent son for this purpose (B²). The minister's son accepts the task and departs (C ↑). During his travels he meets a farmer who takes him to his village as his guest (G³). The farmer's daughter poses a riddle (D²) to which the minister's son replies by a riddle (E²). Soon she tells him that the fish laughed because there is a male in a female's disguise in the King's harem (KF²). Pleased over the success of his mission he returns with the girl (↓). When told the king orders a test that all females of the harem jump over a wide pit (M). The lone "female" who succeeds is discovered

and found that she was a male (N Ex) and punished (U). The minister's son is rewarded and he marries the intelligent girl (W²).⁵⁸

The functions of this tale are :

a¹ B² C ↑ G³ D² E² KF² ↓ M N Ex U W²

One of the important aspects of this tale, which separates it from the rest of the data in this section, is the dual aspect of the main morphological elements represented through these characters and their actions, and relations among these elements and the whole tale.⁵⁹ It is these characteristics, as we shall see, which makes this tale a M - N type and not a simple D E F type tale. It seems as if the tale were having a double structure - one at the surface and another at the deeper levels. For instance, lack in the tale is present at two levels: why the fish laughed at the surface level and the deeper and serious lack, the presence of a male in the harem. Similarly in the dispatch of the hero the minister remains at the surface and his son at the deeper level. Likewise the farmer takes the minister's son as his guest but in reality it is his daughter who acts as donor. In the liquidation of lack also we find that this duality is maintained. For example, through the answer to the surprising question of fish's laugh, is the lack appearing at the surface liquidated, but as we know the real lack is the male in the female disguise and hence discovered and punished (liquidated) later. This explains the logical necessity of M - N and the following functions in such tales. Had the lack in this tale been of a single morphological character, as one finds in tales of similar generic qualities, the tale would have been followed by similar singular morphological elements and ended exactly where other tales end. In that case as said above, the question of M - N and other functions would not have arisen at all. If one is not reproached of mixing Lévi - Straussian "paradigmatic" with Propp's "syntagmatic" analysis, it would be most appropriate to support our discussion with the following diagram



Another aspect that needs a little explanation is the function KF in tales in which lack is liquidated in transfer of help or agent by the donor. This form, besides occurring in other types of tales as we have seen, is a noticeable characteristic of tales, which develop through DEF, as in the case of the above tale. The receipt of an object of search, Propp points out "is sometimes accomplished by means of the same forms as the receipt of a magical agent (i.e., it is given as a gift, its location is indicated, it is purchased etc".⁶⁰

4.2.2. Development Through D E F

Development through D E F (i.e., donor, his test and help) is an attribute of all kinds of tales. However, We are using it as a classificatory device here simply because the other forms of developments are absent. In other words, all the four tales here seem donor - type tales. Let us examine their functions:

A king has three sons (@). In order to decide the heir to his throne he sends them on a trade errand and promises throne to one who returns with more wealth ($a^5 B^2$). The princes agree and depart ($C \uparrow$). On reaching a certain place the two elder brothers take ship in different directions ($[<]$), but the younger prince decides to stay at the sea-shore. He meets a holy man, attends to him and narrates his story to him. Pleased, the holy man advises him to buy corn with all his money and to throw it into the sea (D^1). The prince does it (E^1) and in return receives millions of precious rubies from the fish ($F^1 K^2$). He conceals the rubies in dried cowdung cakes and returns along with his brothers ($\downarrow$). With his enormous wealth he wins the throne (W^3).⁶¹

The functions of this tale are :

$a^5 B^2 C \uparrow [<] D^1 E^1 F^1 K^2 \downarrow W^2$

Another Example :

A king has several queens (@) but no child to continue the line (a^1). He threatens his wives of banishment if they do not bear him a child (B^2). The queens bring up a newly born kitten and inform the king that a princess has been born in the royal family (C). However the king is not allowed to see the so-called "princess". In due course of time the cat becomes an adult and is married to a prince. She is sent with her husband to her new home ($\uparrow$). While in her husband's house

the cat is again locked up in a room and nobody is allowed to see her, not even the curious mother of the prince who insists upon seeing her "daughter-in-law". The cat weeps lest she might get exposed. Moved by her wails Parvati requests Shiva to have mercy on her. Shiva advises Parvati to ask the cat to rub the magical oil, that is already in her room on her fur, and she would change into a beautiful woman. Parvati at once informs the cat (D^1). The cat finds the oil in the lamp, rubs it on her fur ($E^1 F^2$), leaving a small patch for identification and soon she is transformed into a beautiful princess ($T^1 K^5$). The "cat queen" along with her husband returns to her father's country ($\downarrow$). The father recognizes her as his daughter, and the queens are happy. Thus the princess along with her husband live happily and rule both the countries (W^3).⁶²

The functions of this tale are:

$a^1 \ B^2 \ c \ \uparrow \ D^1 \ E^1 \ F^1 \ T^1 \ K^5 \ \downarrow \ W^3$

Before we proceed further, the aspect of multiple characters being the victims of same lack (or villainy) in tales needs a comment. More often than not, in tales, the multiple characters leave together, return together but never liquidate the lack together, as we noticed in these two tales. Usually only one, and very often the youngest of all, fulfills the task of liquidating the Lack or Villainy, whatever the case might be. In such tales such characters (three brothers, three sisters, three friends etc.) part at a given point and in a given situation. Then the thread of the tale picks up with the main, real hero, usually the youngest sibling. Propp calls this situation as "unclear" and designates it as "Leave taking at a road marker [$<$]" However a multimove tale at this "Leave Taking" juncture may split into different moves, following the multiple *dramatis personae*, as we will see in Chapter 5.

Another example :

A poor farmer ($@ a^5$), while working in his field discovers that his pot which contained his lunch has been stolen. He searches around (B^3) and finds a jackal struggling hard to release his head which had got stuck in the narrow neck of the pot. Obviously the jackal had stolen the meal. The angry farmer wants to kill the animal, but it pleads for mercy (D^5). The farmer helps it to release its head and spares its life (E^5). The jackal takes the farmer to the king of that country (G^3) and

convinces the king of his great qualities and birth (F^9). The king marries his daughter to the farmer and he lives happily everafter ($K^6 W^2$).⁶³

The functions of this tale are :

$a^5 B^3 D^5 E^5 G^3 F^9 K^6 W^2$

Another example:

An enormously wealthy old man divides his entire property among his sons so that he be treated well in his old age (@). The selfish sons after sometime illtreat him as if he were a burden on them (a^5). One day this wealthy - turned poor man meets his friend and relates his troubles to him (B^4). This friend tells him to play a nice trick on the selfish sons (D^2) if he wanted to live happy and with respect. The deprived man agrees (E^2). The friend gives him four bags full of tiny stones and gravel and asks him to pretend as if the bags were full of money and never to permit his sons to see its contents (F^3). The old man does accordingly and the scheme works. His sons believe he has more money and treat him well with respect till his death (K^7).⁶⁴

The functions of this tale are :

$a^5 B^4 D^2 E^2 F^3 K^7$

One of the striking characteristics of the above tales particularly the second one which demands a serious comment, is the fact that these tales are *not* fairy tales and still yield convincingly to the structural analysis designed for and developed upon the fairy tale or *märchen*. This raises the kind of questions which we have tried to answer in the beginning of this chapter. However, since our data, which we are going to examine in the following chapters, presents many more such examples, it would be better to look at the problem from yet another structural view - point.

Following Lévi - Strauss' formulations, particularly his basic postulate of the binary structure of oral narrative, Marandas proposed a structural formula for such kind of narratives. Their formula does not only concretize Lévi - Straussian conceptualizations about the deep structure of myths and related oral narratives but also attempts at bringing other non - narrative folklore genres within the frame - work of his structural model.⁶⁵ Obviously Marandas' formula, - just like Lévi - Strauss', is based upon continuous ($A : B :: B : C$) or discontinuous ($A : B :: C : D$) analogy.⁶⁶ Consider the following formula :

QS : QR :: FS : FR

QS = quasi solution

QR = quasi result

FS = final solution

FR = final result

Maranda, as explained earlier, besides working on a variety of folklore materials with this tool, analyzed a number of Finnish *Schwänke* (Jokes) such as the following one which looks very close to our example of non-magical tale:

"Well once a farmer and his servant were starting their meal as the neighbors were eating too. So the farmer said, that,

"Let's pretend eating but not eat".

The servant contended himself with it and then when they went to the field to mow, the servant took the blade off the scythe and said, well,

"Now let's pretend moving but not mow"⁶⁷

According to Marandas' model, the result of the joke would be as follows :

The farmer cheating	=	QS
The servant being cheated	=	QR
The servant cheating	=	FS
The farmer being paid back	=	FR

QS : QR :: FS : FR

-	+
farmer's trick	
servant's	Servants
compliance -	Counter trick +

One is tempted to extend this kind of analysis to the above tale and examine the results and compare them with the results Marandas drew out of the Finnish joke.

Wealthy man divides property,

seeks better treatment = QS

His sons accept property but

ill treat him = QR

Wealthy man plays a trick on

his sons

= FS

The trick works and he is

treated better

= FR

-	+
QS (+)	QR (-)
FS (-)	FR (+)

Although the underlying structural similarity of both these tales is obvious, yet they exhibit some dissimilarities as well. For instance in the Finnish joke no one offers help to the servant to overcome the difficulty but in our tale the old man perhaps would not have succeeded had his friend not offered him a bit of his advice. Marandas model has no place for such and many more similar elements. Marandas model presents both the sequential and non-sequential (paradigmatic) order (in terms of vertical and horizontal dimensions) of the studied data and deciphers the positive/negative traits in terms of a binary network. Propp's model completely depends on the linear sequence of tales and therefore cannot be discussed from a paradigmatic point of view. However, one has to remember that this model does take care of the underlying binary structure of oral narrative. It is in view of this fact that Propp emphasizes the occurrence of functions in pairs, development of moves through mutually exclusive elements, move combinations, distribution of functions among various characters, the concepts of hero and the villain etc. That Propp has been guided by the theoretical concept of the binary structure of tales at every step of his analytical model, needs hardly to be emphasized.

Despite these factors, it is true that most of the non-fairy tales do not present satisfactory results when subjected to Proppian analytical procedures. Yet it seems that the models developed for the study of these narratives like legends, novellas etc., are neither opposed to, nor very different from the basic premises and logical operations suggested by Propp.

This obviously is the problem of genre and we shall take it up later when we examine the structure of such tales.

Notes and References

1. In this connection consider the following remarks of Archer Taylor "..... Classification involves interpretation to some extent. Interpretation seeks to discover the origin, meaning, use and history of these materials, to state and explain their dissemination and to describe their stylistic peculiarities" in Maria Leach ed. *The standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology and Legend*, New York, 1972, p.403
2. Stith Thompson: "Type" in *The standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology and Legend*, Vol. 2, New York, 1950, p.1137.
3. Jawaharlal Handoo: *Current Trends in Folklore*, pp.108 - 109.
4. *Morphology of the Folktale*, pp.8-9.
5. That "Tale types" as conceived by Antti Aarne (Thompson also) are not scientific even for classification due to the basic fact that this conception ignores the structure of tales, is a view shared by Dundes as well. Consider his following remarks: "Aarne - Thompson tale types are classified on the basis of content, not form or structure. Thus the same structural type will be given different numeral classification designations according to whether the dramatis personae are animals (e.g., bears and foxes) or men (e.g., men and ogres) or on the basis of other superficial content features. This may easily be seen by comparing Aarne - Thompson types 4 and 72; 43 and 1097; 123 and 333; 250 and 275; 38, 151 and 1159". *The Morphology of North American Indian Folktales*, 1964. p.53.
6. In this regard consider the following remarks of Alan Dundes : "Thus if a tale consists of elements A to Z, the structure of the tale is delineated in terms of this same sequence". "Introduction" *Morphology of the Folktale*, p.XI.
7. See *Morphology of the Folktale*, p.21.
8. *Ibid*, p.22.
9. This group of folktales is indexed in Aarne - Thompson index as "Tales of Magic". See *The Types of the Folktale*, 1928.
10. *Morphology of the Folktale*, p. 5.
11. *Ibid*, p.102.

12. Commenting upon the remarks of Professor M. Speránskij, who believed that the lack of a scientific methodology was due to insufficient data, Propp writes: "What matters is not the amount of material, but the method of investigation. At a time when the physical and mathematical sciences possess well - ordered classification, a unified terminology adopted by special conferences and the methodology improved upon by the transmission from teacher to students, we have nothing comparable". *Ibid*, p.4
13. This stand is often taken by Lévi - Strauss. See his review of Propp's work namely: "The Morphological Analysis of Russian Tales". See also his *Structural Anthropology*, (Vols. 1,2), London, 1969.
14. Folklore scholars use the terms "variant" and "version" interchangeably just as they use "folklore" and "folkloristics" interchangeably for both the data and the norms of studying that data. See Alan Dundes: *The Study of Folklore*, New Jersey, 1965, p. 420.
15. *Morphology of the Folktale*, pp. 102-103.
16. *Ibid*, p. 102.
17. *Ibid*, p. 92.
18. *Ibid*, p. 103.
19. *Ibid*, pp. 99 - 100.
20. Some major works of these scholars are: Alan Dundes : *The Morphology of North American Indian Folktales*, Helsinki, 1964., B.N. Colby: "A partial Grammar of Eskimo Folktales", *American Anthropologist*, Vol 75, 1973.; Claude Bremond: "Morphology of the French Folktale", *Semiotica* Vol. 2, 1970; Sunday O. Anozie: "Structuralism and African Folktale", *The Conch*, Vol. 2:2, 1970; Labomir Dolezel: "From Motifemes to Motifs", *Poetics*, vol. 4, 1972 , Robert A. Goerges: "Structure in Folktales: A Generative Transformational Approach," *The Conch*, vol.2, 1970; A.J. Greimas: "Narrative Grammar: Units and Labels", *Modern Language Notes*, 86, 1971; William O. Hendricks: "Methodology of Narrative Structural Analysis", *Semiotica* 7, 1973; Bengt Holbek: "Structuralism og folkloristic", *Folk og kultur*, 1972; *Interpretation of Fairy Tales*, Helsinki, 1987; Heda Jason and D. Segal ed.: *Patterns in Oral Literature*, 1977; Elli Köngäs Maranda and Pierre Maranda: *Structural Models in Folklore and Transformational Essays*, 1971; Structural Analysis of Oral Tradition, 1971; Pierre Maranda ed. : *Soviet Structural Folkloristics*,

1974; Claude Lévi - Strauss: *Structural Anthropology*, (2 Vols.) 1969; E.M. Meletinsky and D. Segal: "Structuralism and Semiotics in the USSR", *Diogenes* 73, 1971; Jawaharlal Handoo: "Morphological Analysis of Oral Narratives", *International Journal of Dravidian Linguistics*, VI:2, 1977.

21. *Morphology of the Folktale*, p.35.
22. Handoo borrows Nikiforov's concepts of analyzing tale - actions [functions] on the linguistics model of word formation, i.e., *prefix actions*, *root actions*, and *suffix flecional actions*. See Jawaharlal Handoo: "Morphological Analysis of Oral Narrative", *International Journal of Dravidian Linguistics* VI: 2, 1977, See also A.I. Nikiforov: "On the Morphological Study of Folklore" [Translated by Heda Jason] *Linguistics Biblica*, 27/28, 1973 pp. 25 - 35.
23. *Morphology of the Folktale*, p. 108.
24. These two tales are: "All for a pañsa" and "The Philosopher's Stone", in J. Hinton Knowles: *Folk-Tales of Kashmir*, 1983 [second edition], pp. 144 - 153 and 233 - 239.
25. For another variant of the tale "The Philosopher's Stone", see *Folk-Tales of Kashmir*, pp. 239 - 240.
26. See the tale "All for a Pañsa", in *Folk-Tales of Kashmir* pp. 144 - 153. The tale belongs to Aarne - Thompson type numbers 888A, 921 and 217. See Antti Aarne - Stith Thompson: *The Types of the Folktale*, 1961. The tale has been summarized here, and all other tales, which we examine in this study are also summarized, for reasons of space. This method is invariably followed in all chapters.
27. See the tale: "The Base Friend", in *Folk - Tales of Kashmir*, pp. 174 - 176.
28. See the tale: "The Philosopher's Stone", in *Folk - Tales of Kashmir*, pp. 233 - 241. The tale belongs to AT type No. 411 A. The form of villainy in this tale is peculiar to Kashmiri tales, and does not find place in Propp's scheme, thus we designate it as A²⁰.
29. See *Folk-Tales of Kashmir*, pp. 239 - 240.
30. Propp did not name the "forms" in which the "functions" are realized. Alan Dundes following the linguistic terminology, particularly Pikeian concept of "etic" and "emic", renamed Propp's functions as "motifeme" and its various realizations or "those motifs

which occur in any given motifemic context" as "allomotifs". See Dundes: *The Morphology of North American Indian Folktales*, 61; *Analytic Essays in Folklore*, 1975. Dundes seems to follow the phoneme/morpheme and allophone/ allomorph analogy while coining these parallel terms. However, the root term "motif" is very liable to cause confusion as "motif" is quite contrary to "function", the former a variable and the latter a constant element of oral narrative. In view of these constraints, we prefer to maintain Proppian terminology.

31. Causing disease is not an uncommon villainous act in Indian myths and folktales. See Jawaharlal Handoo: "The World of Teyyam: Myth and Message" *Journal of Indian Folkloristics*, Vol. II : 3/4, 1979. pp. 65 - 88.
32. See the tale: "The Wicked Queens" in *Folktales of Kashmir*, pp. 397 - 406. This tale belongs to AT type No. 707.
33. *Ibid*, pp. 406 - 408.
34. *Ibid*, pp. 409 - 414.
35. See the tale: "Himal and Nagray" in *Folk-Tales of Kashmir*, pp. 491 -504. The tale belongs to At type No. 425 D.
36. Axel Olrik, 1965, p. 133. He wrote the original paper "Episohe Gesetze der Volksdichtung" in German in 1909 and its first English translation "Epic Laws of Oral Narrative", appeared in Alan Dundes ed.: *The Study of Folklore*, 1965. Although Olrik was not structuralist in the modern sense, yet it is interesting to see how much pattern oriented insight he had.
37. Benjamin N. Colby: "Cultural Patterns in Narrative", *Science* 151, 1966, p. 797.
38. Claude Lévi - Strauss: "The Structural Study of Myth", in T.A. Sebeok ed.: *Myth A Symposium*, 1958, p. 105.
39. Propp: *Mophology of the Folktale*, p. 74.
40. Number three is special to Indo - European cultures, including North American and Indian. See Axel Olrik: "Epic Laws of Oral Narrative", p. 133. See also Alan Dundes: "The Number Three in American Culture" in *Analytic Essays in Folklore*, The 1975, pp. 206 - 225.

41. See the tale: "Shabrang, Prince and Thief" in *Folk Tales of Kashmir*, pp. 104 - 123. The tale belongs to AT type No. 891.
42. See the tale: "The Unjust King and the Wicked Goldsmith", in *Folk - Tales of Kashmir*, pp. 229 -232. The tale belongs to AT type No. 706 and 757.
43. *Morphology of the Folktale*, p. 36.
44. Handoo calls it "tale transformation", We would however prefer to call it "role transformation" or role change. See *Current Trend in Folklore*. p.290.
45. Trebling of functions is designated as :
46. *Morphology of the Folktale*, p. 75.
47. See the tale: "The Brave Princess" in *Folk-Tales of Kashmir*, pp. 197 -202. The tale has earlier been analyzed morphologically by Jawaharlal Handoo in *Current Trends in Folklore*, pp. 278 - 285.
48. See the tale: "The Cruel Merchant" in *Folk-Tales of Kashmir*, pp. 98 - 100. The tale belongs to AT type No. 1109.
49. See the tale: "Their only Ruby" in *Folk - Tales of Kashmir*, pp. 258 - 259.
50. See the tale: "The King and His Treacherous Wazir" in *Folk-Tales of Kashmir*, pp. 353 - 354. The tale belongs to AT type Nos. 706 and 757.
51. See the tale: "The Tale of a Princess" in *Folk - Tales of Kashmir*, pp. 61 - 64. The tale belongs to AT type No. 881.
52. *Ibid*.
53. *Folk - Tales of Kashmir*, pp. 209 - 210.
54. See his example numbers 108, 113, 127, pp. 136 and 138.
55. *Morphology of the Folktale*, p. 34.
56. *The Morphology of North American Indian Folktales*, p. 61.
57. *Morphology of the Folktale*, pp. 101 - 102.

58. See the tale: "Why the Fish Laughed" in *Folk - Tales of Kashmir*, pp. 484 - 490. The tale belongs to AT type No. 875.
59. Propp terms such tales as "Complex tales" and infact presents a few examples. See *Morphology of the Folktale*, pp. 145 - 147.
60. *Ibid*, p. 55
61. See the tale: "The Three Princes" in *Folk-Tales of Kashmir*, pp. 203 - 208.
62. See the tale: "The Cat who Became a Queen", in *Folk -Tales of Kashmir*, pp.8-10. The tale belongs to AT type nos. 402 and 459.
63. See the tale: "The Clever Jackal" in *Folk - Tales of Kashmir*, pp. 186 - 188.
64. See the tale : "How the Wicked Sons were Duped" , in *Folk - Tales of Kashmir*, pp. 241 - 242. The tale belongs to AT type No. 982.
65. For details, see E. Köngäs Maranda and P. Maranda: *Structural Models in Folklore and Transformational Essays*, pp. 78 -79.
66. For details, see Jawaharlal Handoo: *Current Trends in Folklore*, pp. 125 - 126.
67. See *Structural Models in Folklore and Transformational Essays*, p.78.■

Chapter V

MULTIMOVE TALES AND THEIR COMBINATIONS

5. Introduction

Multimove tales, as the name suggests, are tales which possess more than one move. A move, according to Propp, is "any development proceeding from Villainy (A) or a Lack (a) through intermediary functions to marriage (W) or to other functions employed as denouement Each new act of villainy, each new lack creates a new move".¹ These structural arrangements as we shall see in the following sections, are very often repeated in tales creating new moves. Thus a tale may have more than one move depending upon:

- (i) The number of villains/villainies or lacks.
- (ii) The number of victims of a single villainous act.
- (iii) The number of heroes.
- (iv) The number of times the villainous act is repeated or a lack is realized, giving rise to a quest or search.

These basic characteristics of tales comprising of more than one move, as we shall see later, are realized in tales in various forms. For instance a new move may be initiated by a fresh villainy or lack, or sometimes by a sense of continuous lack. Sometimes one notices cases where a particular move seems to repeat itself, first move being positive and the second negative. This does not however mean that tales with reverse order of moves i.e. tales with one or more negative moves with a follow up positive move are not possible. Tales such as "Good King Hatam" and "Four Princes Turned into Stone",² evidence this type of move combinations.

Similarly, we find tales in which multiple villainous acts and the presence of corresponding multiple heroes and their actions trigger off fresh moves. In such tales the

movement of the action is naturally found in a multiple manner. A still more interesting form of generating moves in tales is related with the use of magical agents. For example, if in a given tale the magical agent is acquired in the first move to help in the liquidation of villainy or lack, which obviously is not achieved in the first move itself, then a fresh move, or moves seem to begin in such tales, so that the purpose, that the magical agent was acquired for is achieved.

A multimove tale, as said above, may have two or more moves. We have in our data tales which are having as many as six moves. These moves seem to follow each other and, more often, run parallel in an interwoven manner. Multimove tales in our data seem to follow the following type patterns:

- (i) moves of a tale may be of A - K (W) type,
- (ii) moves of a tale may be a combination of A - K (W) and a - K (W) type,
- (iii) the order of such combined types will be : first a - K (W) type followed by A - K (W) type,
- (iv) the reverse order, i.e., first A - K (W) type and then a - K (W) type is not available in our data,
- (v) nor do we find a tale with two or more a - K (W) type moves,
- (vi) tales in which one move is a - K (W) has it as the first move and never as subsequent move.

The development of moves in multimove tales, as we noticed in the previous chapter in the case of single move tales, is determined by certain morphological combinations. These combinations, just like the single move tales, remain almost same in the formation of multimove tales, e.g., development through H - I or development through M - N, development through both H - I and M - N, and development without either of the two. However, Propp observes that in the combination of moves, these morphological types seem to indicate a particular hierarchy. Consider his following remarks:

" it can be observed that moves with difficult task are most often second, repeated, or singular moves, and very rarely (only once) occurs first. If a tale consists of two moves, then moves containing a fight always precede those involving tasks. *Hence we conclude that a move with H - I is a typical first move, and a move with difficult task is a typical second or repeated move.* Each of them is capable of existing separately, but a combination always takes place in the order

It should be remembered, however, that this hierarchy may sometimes be culture-specific (as in the case of Russian tales, Propp comes up with one exception), but more and more examination of data from various cultures will ultimately show that moves are certainly combined in some systematic order following set rules, as we shall see later. One can even go further and conclude that just like the morphological units are combined following certain logical possibilities to create tales, so are moves combined together to make them longer, purposeful, logically complete and more convincing to human mind. In other words, the internal construction of tales and the construction of moves are governed by the rules. One succeeds in discovering such deep-structured rules only by proper description of the narrative. "Singling out a move", observes Propp, "is not always an easy matter, but it is always possible with complete exactitude. However, if we have conditionally defined the tale as a move, this still does not mean that the number of moves corresponds exactly to the number of tales. Special devices of parallelism, repetition etc., lead to the fact that one tale may be composed of several moves"⁴

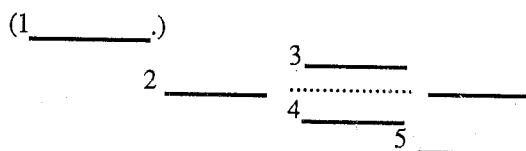
(1) *Direct Moves*: or moves that follow each other directly. The scheme of such tales can be represented in this manner:

(2) *Interwoven Moves:* or moves that are interwoven with one another. The scheme of such tales can be represented in the following manner:

(3) *Embedded Moves*: or moves which have a kind of sequential embedding of many inside moves as interruption moves. The scheme of such tales can be shown thus:

(1 —————)
2 ————— 2.1. [—————]
2.2. [—————]

- (4) *Simultaneous Moves*: or common moves which split according to the needs of the multiple *dramatis personae*, and run simultaneously, parallel in time, and finally merge with the common, or the main move. The scheme of such tales can be represented as follows:



5.1. Direct Moves

Moves which follow each other directly, can further be sub-divided into (i) Positive Moves and (ii) Positive - Negative Moves. In the case of the former, all moves tend to be positive while, in the case of the latter one move may be positive and the other negative. A positive move may be followed by a negative one, or a negative move may necessitate a follow up second positive move.

5.1.1. Positive Move Combinations

In this type of move-combination we notice that soon after a move is completed, a fresh misfortune either in the form of a villainy or a lack may occur, necessitating another move of equal, less, or more morphological strength. This regularity in the course of a fresh move seems to remain in order irrespective of the number of moves that a tale may have. Positive combinations of moves do not leave the misfortune (villainy or lack) unliquidated in the end, while the Negative - Positive or Positive - Negative combination may, or may not end with the liquidation of misfortune, depending on the combination. However, in the Positive combinations, we notice that all moves may be A - K (W) type, or a combination of a-K(W) and A-K(W) types. These combinations further seem to be conditioned by the fact that no matter what type the first move belongs to, the following move invariably has to be A - K (W) type. This is true of those tales as well which are composed of more than two moves.

We have sixteen tales of Positive Move combinations in our data and these can further be divided into three groups: (i) Two Move Combinations, (ii) Three Move Combinations, and (iii) Four Move Combinations.

5.1.1.1. Two Move Combinations

Two Move Combination tales are those tales in the Positive Move Combination group, which follow each other directly and liquidate the misfortune at the end of every move. As said earlier, among the two move combinations we notice two varieties of combinations: (i) a - K (W) and A - K (W), and (ii) A - K (W) and its repetition.

5.1.1.1.1. a - K (W) and A - K (W) Combination

We have four tales in this sub section. Let us examine them

[Move 1]

A very poor Brahmin (@ a⁵) prays to Vishnu (a God of the Hindu Pantheon) to grant him a hundred rupees and promises to give ten rupees in his name to some poor person if the boon is granted (DE⁷). Vishnu grants him one hundred rupees (F¹ K⁶), the Brahmin returns (↓).

[Move 2]

The Brahmin keeps his word and gives ten rupees to a blind beggar (@). The surprised blind beggar is inquisitive about the Brahmin's generous gesture (ε¹) and the Brahmin reveals the secret (ζ¹). The blind beggar expresses his life's desire of holding all the hundred rupees in his hand, just to feel the mighty sum (n¹). The generous Brahmin agrees and puts the money in the beggar's hand to feel (θ¹). The blind beggar immediately claims the money as his own and shouts for help (A²). The Brahmin pleads, but is ridiculed for trying to cheat a blind beggar. Dejected, the Brahmin goes home. On reaching home the Brahmin narrates the incident to his wife. She advises him to go and follow the blind beggar without being noticed (B²). The Brahmin departs (↑) and follows the blind beggar (G³), to a mosque and watches him depositing this one hundred rupees, along with another one thousand rupees (which he already possessed) in an earthen pot inside the mosque (F²). After the beggar leaves, the Brahmin quietly picks up the earthen pot (K¹), and returns home (↓).

His wife sends him again to watch what the blind beggar would be doing (B²). The Brahmin agrees to go (E²), follows and finds the blind beggar lamenting his loss. Soon a blind Mullah [the Muslim

priest] appears and asks the beggar the reason for lamenting. The beggar explains his loss. The Mullah advises him to be careful in future as he himself was, and shows him the hallow stick in which he kept his money, and always carried it with him (F^2). The Brahmin soon follows the blind Mullah and substitutes his stick (full of money) with an ordinary one, and returns ($K^1 \downarrow$). The wife sends the Brahmin again to watch what the blind Mullah would be doing now (B^2). The Brahmin goes ($\uparrow$) and finds the blind Mullah lamenting his loss and another blind Mullah advising him to be careful in future and keep his money sewed up in his gown as he himself did (F^2). Having heard this, the Brahmin soon presents a pot containing honey bees topped with some honey to the second blind Mullah. When the Mullah opens the pot he is stung by the bees and forced to remove his gown. The waiting Brahmin, collects the gown with money and leaves ($K^1 \downarrow$). Having discovered their loss, the three blind men complain to the king, and seek his help. The king discovers the clever Brahmin, pardons him and rewards him (W^7). The blind begger is punished (U).

The movewise functions of this tale are:

Move 1

$a^5 \ D \ E^7 \ F^1 \ K^6 \downarrow$

Move 2

$\epsilon^1 \ \zeta^1 \ n^1 \ \theta^1 \ A^2 \ B^2 \uparrow \ G^3 \ F^2 \ K^1 \downarrow$
 $[B^2 \uparrow \ F^2 \ K^1 \downarrow] [B^2 \uparrow \ FK^1 \downarrow] UW^7$

The first move of this tale has only two characters the Hero (Brahmin), and the Donor (Vishnu). The form of DEF is also peculiar to this tale, though not uncommon to Indian narratives in general. The second move is evoked by the seizure of the magical object by the Villain giving rise to a fresh quest leading to the recovery of the object. Interestingly the hero applies similar methods to recover the sought after object, as the villain does to seize it. The hero follows the villain and steals the magical object thereby tricking the villains into donorship. "..... an agent in the possession of a deceived donor can only be stolen or taken by force," observes Propp.⁶ The Brahmin's wife is both a dispatcher and a helper. The B - K functions are repeated three times before the villainy is liquidated finally. Thematically the second move might look a "Tit for Tat" type - a development

from disequilibrium to equilibrium, yet structurally it seems to possess all the general structural elements of a fairy tale.

There are some tales in which the second or the subsequent move is necessitated because of the presence of new heroes or new villains. Sometimes a particular *dramatis personae* may change roles in different moves as in the following examples:

[Move 1]

A poor Brahmin (@ a⁵) goes for prayers (↑), and meets a 'jagy' (saint), who makes enquiries about him and his errands. The Brahmin tells him everything about his poverty (D²). The saint directs him to his daughter (G). The Brahmin repeats his woes to the saint's daughter (E²). Having heard his woes, she weeps, and her tears become pearls. Then she laughs and flowers of gold pour out of her mouth. And when she walks, she leaves behind golden foot prints. She asks the Brahmin to collect all the gold and pearls (F³). The Brahmin collects the treasures (K⁵) and returns home rich (↓).

[Move 2]

After sometime a king marries the saint's daughter (@). While on her journey to the king's palace (β¹) she feels thirsty. The cunning maid servant supplies water to the bride in exchange for her magical eyes (n¹ θ¹), throws her into a river and substitutes her own daughter at her place (A^{6, 10, 12}). The blinded bride is rescued by a washerman (D¹). She laughs and walks but cannot weep any more, therefore no pearls. But she gives all gold to the washerman (E¹) who in turn sells it to the substitute queen, for a pair of eyes (F^{3 4} K³). Soon the king discovers that the washerman has become suddenly rich (T) and enquires about the source of his riches (Q Ex). The king kills the wicked maid servant and her daughter (U), and restores the status to the saint's daughter, the real queen (K³ W²).

The move - wise functions of this tale thus are:

Move 1

a⁵ ↑ D² G E² F³ K⁵ ↓

Move 2

$$\beta^1 \uparrow^1 \theta^1 A^{6,10,12} D^1 E^1 F^3 K^4 K^3 T Q Ex U K^3 W^2$$
*Another example :**[Move 1]*

A king while on a hunting trip (@) ($\uparrow$) meets a "faqir" (saint). The "faqir" greets the king and ask if he needed anything (D^2). The king reciprocates the greetings and requests for a wife like himself in appearance and height ($E^2 [a^1]$). The saint agrees to grant the boon, but warns, that the queen will be infidel. Soon the saint cuts the king into two pieces, buries him and resurrects the king and his desired queen ($F^3 K^5$). The king returns ($\downarrow$), builds a special palace in the woods (T^2), and lives with his wife there (W^2).

[Move 2]

One day in the king's absence (β^1) the queen happens to see the young and handsome wazir (minister), and falls in love with him. Both begin meeting frequently and secretly (A^{16}). Later, one day the minister invites the king for a feast. The king agrees and arrives in the minister's house ($\uparrow$). There he finds his infidel wife in disguise (B^2). To make sure, he marks her wrap with turmeric (J^1). When he returns ($\downarrow$), he finds the queen already home waiting for him. However the stain on her wrap exposes her infidelity (Ex). The king soon kills her (U). Next morning he abdicates his throne in sheer disgust and becomes a 'faqir' (W cont.).⁸

The move wise functions of this tale are thus :

Move 1.

$$\uparrow D^2 E^2 (a^1) F^3 K^5 \downarrow T^2 W^2$$
Move 2.

$$\beta^1 A^{16} \uparrow B^2 J^1 \downarrow Ex U W \text{ cont.}$$

The first move of the this tale has an implied lack which is expressed during the hero's reaction to the donor's test. The reaction of the hero is followed by the donor's preparation

of the magical agent. Again the transference of the magical agent in this move, implies also the liquidation of the lack, since the agent and the sought for person are the same. This is followed by the hero's return and his wedding.

The second move begins with absention resulting in villainy. Here we witness a special form of villainy a form which we would like to call "infidel wife".⁹ This villainy is followed by dispatch of the hero again peculiar to this tale. Following the dispatch the hero arrives at the villain's place. Here we have an instance of reverse branding i.e., the hero branding the villain as in the tale of "The Ivory City and its Fairy Princess," that we will discuss in the following sections.¹⁰ The villain is punished and the punishment is followed by a very strange phenomena, one very frequently notices in Indian fairy tales. This phenomenon is opposed to Propp's thirty - first and the last function Wedding and Accession to the throne (W). Hence we prefer to designate this as a W contrary (W Cont.).

Another example:

[Move 1]

An infant girl raised by a crow in a jungle is married to a king who already has six queens (@). The king, one day, orders his queens to decorate their respective apartments. The six queens raised in royal surroundings, are supposed to be well versed in the art of royal decorations. This causes fear in the heart of the crow - raised seventh queen (a⁶). She seeks help from her raiser the crow (B¹). The crow decides to help (C) goes in search of the decorative objects (↓), with the help of the birds (D² E²) gets a magical herb, returns and gives it to the seventh queen (F¹). She rubs the walls with the herb, and they turn golden (K⁶). Pleased, the king makes her his chief queen (W).²

[Move 2]

The jealous queens (@) persuade the chief queen to bathe in the river (η¹). She agrees (θ¹). They push and drown the chief queen in the river (A¹⁰), but she manages to hold to a tree, that grows out of some invisible land (↑ F⁶). The crow keeps her feeding and saves her from starvation. One day she spots the king in a boat, shouts for help and is thus rescued (K⁹), brought back to the palace (↓). The jealous queens are punished (U), and the marriage and status to the chief queen restored (W).¹¹

The tale thus has the following move - wise functions:

Move 1.

$a^6 \ B^1 \ C \ \uparrow \ D^2 \ E^2 \ F^1 \ \downarrow \ K^6 \ W^2$

Move 2.

$\eta^1 \ \theta^1 \ A^{10} \ \uparrow \ F^6 \ K^9 \ \downarrow \ U \ W$

The move combination of these tales is as follows:

1. _____ . 2. _____ .

Before examining some of the morphological characteristics responsible for the formation of various moves in the above four a - K (W) and A - K(W) combination tales, it will be interesting to place the functions of these tales move wise side by side:

Move 1

<i>Tale 1</i> There Blind Men	a^5	$D \ E^7 \ F^1 \ \quad K^6 \ \downarrow$
<i>Tale 2</i> The Jogi's Daughter	$a^5 \ \uparrow$	$\begin{array}{c} D^2 \\ \diagdown \\ G \end{array} E^2 \ F^3 \ \downarrow \ K^5$
<i>Tale 3</i> The Strange Request	a^1	$D^2 \ E^2 \ F^3 \ \downarrow \ \begin{array}{c} K^5 \\ \diagdown \\ T^2 \end{array} W^2$
<i>Tale 4</i> The Crow Girl	$a^6 \ B^1 \ C \ \uparrow$	$D^2 \ E^2 \ F^1 \ \downarrow \ K^6 \ W^2$

Move 2

<i>Tale 1</i>	$\varepsilon^1 \eta^1 \theta^1 A^2 B^2 : \uparrow : F^2 : G^3 K^1 : \downarrow : U W^7$
<i>Tale 2</i>	$\beta^1 \eta^1 \theta^1 A^6 D^1 E^1 F_4^3 K^3 O Q Ex T U W^2$ 10 12
<i>Tale 3</i>	$\beta^1 A^{16} B^2 \uparrow J^1 \downarrow Ex U W Cont$
<i>Tale 4</i>	$\eta^1 \theta^1 A^{10} \uparrow F^6 K^9 \downarrow U W$

If we examine the functions of the individual moves and their move combinations, these tales present the following pattern:

- (1) These are two move tales.
- (2) The first move of Lack - Lack Liquidation, (a - K) type is directly followed by a Villainy - Villainy Liquidation (A - K) type of move. Subsequently the prefix functions of the tale are absent in the first move.
- (3) Both the moves are positive in the sense that Lack or Villainy is liquidated at the end of every move.
- (4) The heroes of both moves remain same. The first tale has the Brahmin as hero in both the moves; the third the king; and the queen is the heroine in the fourth tale. The exception in the second tale is due to (i) the introduction of new personae (ii) and the change of role of a dramatis personae in different moves. The donor of the first move is transformed into the victimized hero in the second move.
- (5) The first moves have only two main tale roles - the hero and the donor. The absence of villain in these first moves is conspicuous, conforming to the a - K type of tales discussed in the preceding pages.
- (6) The main functions of the moves and the move combinations are identical. However the forms of lack and villainy, and their manifestations vary.
- (7) Both moves develop through D E F functions. D E F functions in the first moves are more explicit, than the subsequent moves. The second moves have only F function explicit, (with the exception of the second tale) but the D and

E are implied. The donors in the second move are either same persons as in the first move (Tale No. 4), or they are villains tricked into donorship (Tale Nos. 1,2,3), who give away the secrets about the magical object, or the object itself, involuntarily or unknowingly, or both. That perhaps explains the non explicit nature of donor's test in the second moves.

- (8) The form of the donor's test in the first move is almost identical (D^2), in all the tales. The donor is approached with a request or a desire which is granted to the hero. It is a sort of inverted test, a mild one. Sometimes a lament or a call for help, or prayer may evoke donor's action as in tale No. 1. Prayer is a form of request, religious in nature and a very important element in Hero - Donor relationship occurring more often in Indian narrative. Propp found only one such instance in Russian fairy tales. He writes, "A special subclass might be made by forms of religious nature. A hero burns a barrel of frankincense to the glory of God. To this group one instance of a prayer might also be relegated (115)."¹² In such cases we have the donor mediating - an assimilation of B and D functions. The Brahmin's wife in the Tale No.1. of this section is both a dispatcher and a helper or donor.

- (9) The villains of the second moves are invariably punished.

5.1.1.1.2. A - K and its Repetitions

Unlike the previous section of a combination of a - K and A - K (W) type, in this section we will discuss tales with both the first and the second moves A - K (W) type. Thus we call it the A - K and its repetition. The A - K (W) type could be repeated a number of times, yet in this section we discuss only two move combination. The major difference between these tales and the ones discussed in the preceding section is the presence of Villainy in the first move also. In the earlier tales i.e., a - K and A - K (W) combination tales, the villain entered tales only in the second move, but here villain is present in both the moves-sometimes the same person, sometimes a different one. Both the moves are positive. We have eight tales in this section and let us examine them:

[Move 1]

A Brahmin and his son live together (@). The Brahmin dies (β^2). Soon after his death the boy falls sick (A). At that time a "jogi" comes to their house. The mother pleads for help (B). The "jogi" asks her to prepare a particular fish dish (D^2). The fish is cooked (E^2), and fed to the boy (F^2_3). The boy recovers (K). The "jogi" stays with the boy and his mother.

[Move 2]

One-day the "jogi" applies magic collyrium to the eyes of the boy, that helps him to fly and remain invisible (@). The boy is then sent to steal the treasures of the king (η^2), he succeeds (θ^2), "jogi" exposes the thief (boy) to the king. The boy and his mother are banished (A^9). The king who is annoyed with his younger daughter because she believes that "karam" is greater than "Dharam", marries her to this boy and banishes them both (A^9). The boy leaves the country ($\uparrow$), and seeks employment with a merchant. One day the merchant is annoyed with the boy and sends him for water to a cursed tank (B). The boy goes to bring water ($\uparrow$), reaches the tank where a voice from the tank interrogates him (D^2). The boy explains (E^2). The voice permits the boy to take the water, and also gives instructions to him to take a handful of sand from the spot, in a corner of his wrap, and not to unfasten it, till he reaches home (F^2). The boy follows the instructions, and on reaching home, relates the episode to his wife thus unfastening the wrap. He finds precious stones in it ($K^6 \downarrow$), grows richer and invites the king for a feast. The king recognizes his daughter (Q), and gives his kingdom to the boy (W^3).¹³

Thus the move wise functions of this tale are :

Move 1. β^2 A D^2 E^2 F^2_3 K

Move 2. η^2 θ^2 A^9 B^2 $\uparrow$ D^2 E^2 F^2 K^6 $\downarrow$ Q W^3

Having examined the tale, it appears that the donor of the first move is transformed into the villain in the second move, semantically. Yet morphologically speaking even if the 'jogi' in the second move was removed the structure of the tale would not change, because the actual villainous act of banishment is committed by the king not the 'jogi'. Thus the jogi's actions in the second move only serve as a link between the two moves. Again banishment is a weak form of Villainy that leads to the departure of the hero. The hero is banished twice and dispatched once. The merchant sending the hero to the cursed tank is in no way different from the king banishing the hero. This dispatch is of hostile nature. Thus the act of villainy is repeated thrice making it more explicit. The villain is neither punished nor defeated in war.

However, characters may change roles in different moves. The donor of the first move may become the villain in the second move as we will see in the following example:

[Move 1]

A great and wealthy king (@) is attacked by a more powerful king, is killed, and his wife and two sons banished ($A^{19, 14, 9}$). They are obliged to work hard for their livelihood. One day the queen sends her elder son to bring wood for sale from the jungle (B^2). The boy agrees and departs ($C \uparrow$). In the jungle he sees a band of robbers coming with their loot to dump it in a hut (d^7). He hides and watches them utter some magic words and the hut opens up. They dump their loot in the hut. When they leave the hut he utters same words (E), enters the hut and brings some precious treasure ($F^2 K^5$) and returns ($\downarrow$).

[Move 2]

Next day the younger brother goes to the jungle in search of fortune (β^1). He enters the same hut, but the door is closed behind him. He does not remember the magic words and can't come out. The robbers who have discovered the theft of their loot are looking out for the thief (ϵ^1). Then they see the boy inside the hut (ζ^1), they kill him (A^{14}). The elder brother is sent in search of him ($B^2 C \uparrow$). He finds his brother cut into pieces, collects his corpse, recites the magic words for opening the hut (E), enters (F^3) the hut and taking with him the rest of the treasure (K^5), returns home ($\downarrow$). Finding the treasures missing the robbers decide to find the thief and pursue him in disguise (Pr^4). The queen suspecting their intentions kills the robbers and rescues her son ($Rs^9 U$).¹⁴

Thus the move wise functions of this tale are as follows:

Move 1. $A^{19, 14, 9} B^2 C \uparrow d^7 E F^2 K^5 \downarrow$

Move 2. $\beta^1 \epsilon^1 \zeta^1 A^{14} B^3 C \uparrow E F^3 K^5 \downarrow Pr^6 Rs^9 U$

An examination of this tale shows that the donor of the first move, turning into villain in the second move is not due to sudden change of heart or roles, but due to the fact that in the first move the donor is tricked into donorship, unknowingly and unwillingly, giving away the secret of the magical agent. Also there is an assimilation of B and D functions, more apparent in the second move than the first one. The queen in the second move is both a mediator and a donor, a dispatcher and a helper. In the absence of a struggle (H - I), a

direct fight between the hero and the villain, she takes upon herself the task of punishing the villain, by killing him.

Sometimes a multimove tale may have in one move a direct overt form of Villainy and in the other indirect or invert Villainy, or just a continued sense of it as we will see in the following example:

[Move 1]

A king while watching his army parade (@) is allured by a seven-legged beast ($\eta \theta$), and killed in a jungle (A^{14}). His son is made the king. He wants to know the secret of his father's death. His wazir informs him of the incident (B^4). The son decides to find the villain and orders that he would review his army at the same place as his father had done (C). As before, the sevenlegged beast comes prowling around and the son follows him into the jungle ($\uparrow$), where the beast changes into his real form of a "jinn", and tries to kill the prince. The prince prays to God for safety. God's angel appears and gives him instructions to fight the "jinn" ($D E^7$), and also gives him a two headed arrow with which to pierce the eyes of the "jinn" (F^1). The prince is engaged in a fight (H^1). He follows the angel's instructions and pierces the eyes of the "jinn" thus killing him (I^1). The prince cuts his head (K^7) and returns ($\downarrow$).

[Move 2]

The prince keeps the head in one of the rooms of his palace (@), giving the keys to his mother, forbidding her not to open the room (y^1). The inquisitive mother opens the room (δ^1). The head of the dead "jinn" speaks and tells her that her son, the prince, is a "jinn" and would kill her (η^3). He advises her to send the boy in search of the tigress's milk for her (θ^3). The queen feigns sickness, sends her son to get the tigress's milk [A]. The prince leaves ($\uparrow$) arrives at a jungle where he sees a tigress. He shoots an arrow at the teat of the tigress. This tigress had an absessed teat. She is relieved of the pain ($d^7 E^7$), gives him milk and a tuft of her fur ($F^1 K$), advising him to show it to Sun whenever he was in difficulty. The prince returns ($\downarrow$). He is again sent to bring a princess from a particular castle (M). With the help of the tuft of fur, the tigress and her cubs, he succeeds in bringing the princess (N). Then during his conversation with his mother the prince

reveals to her the secret of the head in the room (Ex), the mother repents for her deeds. The prince marries the princess (W²).¹⁵

The move-wise functions of this tale are thus:

Move 1. $\eta \ \theta \ A^{14} \ B^4 \ C \ \uparrow \ D \ E^7 \ H^1 \ I^1 \ K^7 \ \downarrow$

Move 2. $y^1 \ \delta^1 \ \eta^1 \ \theta^1 \ [A] \ B^2 \ \uparrow \ DE^7 \ F^1 \ K \ \downarrow \ M \ N \ Ex \ W^2$

In the second move of this tale villainy is not direct, but indirect; departure assumes the character of Villainy. Hostile departure as witnessed in this tale very often assumes the character of banishment. "Banishment", observes Propp, "is often a false villainy motivating $\uparrow$ ".¹⁶

Role changes in different moves of a tale is a very common phenomena, not restricted to some characters. There could be tales, in which the victimized hero of the first move could become seeker hero in the second move or vice versa, or donor could assume the role of hero in the second move, if some other character is introduced as the donor. See for example:

[*Move 1*]

The marriage between a prince and a princess is fixed (@). The prince's father dies (β^2). The princess's father refuses to marry his daughter to the orphaned prince, and arranges her marriage with some other prince (A). The grieved prince leaves home ($\uparrow$), reaches the princess's country. The princess enquires about the cause of his grief (D^2). He replies revealing his true identity (E^2). Princess promises to marry him (KF^2). Both elope and ride away on horses ($\downarrow$).

[*Move 2*]

Suddenly the princess remembers that she has forgotten to carry her jewels with her (@). Princess returns to fetch them (β^1). The princess is carried away by a robber ($A^1 B^5$). She escapes ($\uparrow$) and encounters a goldsmith who wants her to marry him (D^7). She agrees on the condition that he give her gold ear-rings (E^7). He gives earrings (F^1). She rides away, and reaches a hut, where she meets an old couple. She gives them the earrings in exchange for food and lodging. Next day, she leaves disguised as a man and reaches a city. She is chosen king by the elephant according to the custom of that country ($K^5 \downarrow$).

However she is not happy as she is urged to take a wife. She wants to see the prince, gets a likeness of herself made in women's dress and makes it appear as if she had been stabbed and was dying. She gets the picture hung on a wall in a thoroughfare of the city, and orders her detectives to take notice of everybody that made any remark about it, and to bring them before her. One by one the robber, the goldsmith, the old couple pass that way and make some remarks, they are brought before the princess. When the prince sees the picture he faints (O). He is brought before the princess disguised as a man. She recognizes him (Q). The robber, and the goldsmith who were disguised as jogis are exposed (Ex), and punished (U). After some time the princess reveals her identity, marries the prince and becomes his queen (W¹).¹⁷

The move-wise functions of this tale are as follows :

Move 1. β^2 A $\uparrow$ D² E² K F² $\downarrow$

Move 2. β^1 A¹ B⁵ D⁷ E⁷ F¹ K⁵ $\downarrow$ O Q Ex U W¹

Note the goldsmith the donor of the second move being punished. He is donor for the simple reason that the magical agent-earrings in this case are handed over by him unwillingly. But for this action of his, he is comparable to the robber, the villain, that perhaps explains, he being punished along with the villain.

Sometimes, if a tale begins with multiple villainous acts, all the villainies may not be liquidated in the first move. Such a situation necessitates another move as in the following tale:

[Move 1]

A king has seven wives, no son (@). He goes out to seek the help of some holy man (β), but meets a fairy instead. She requests the king to marry her if he wants children (y^2). The king marries and brings her to his palace (δ^2). The fairy who infact is an ogress eats animals in the palace stables and smears blood on the lips of other queens, and convinces the king of their being ogresses ($\eta^3 \theta^3$). The queens are blinded and thrown into a well (A₁₀). In the well the queens bear children. Six of them are eaten for survival and the seventh and the youngest boy spared. He is sent out "to see some light of the outer world" (B⁴). He goes and seeks employment in the king's kitchen

(C $\uparrow$). The royal cook whose mother has just then died requests the boy to take his place in the kitchen to enable him to attend his mother's funeral (D⁷). The boy obliges (E⁷). The king relishes his preparations and appoints him as the chief cook (F¹). He gets enough food to sustain his mothers as well (K $\downarrow$).

[Move 2]

Once the ogress queen fascinated by the boy's smartness enquires about his whereabouts (ϵ^1). He explains (ζ^1). She soon plots to kill him, pretends sickness (η^3), asks the boy to be sent to bring tigress's milk to cure her (θ^3). The boy is dispatched to bring the tigress's milk (B). He goes in search of it ($\uparrow$), and meets the "faqir" whom he used to feed from the royal kitchen. The "faqir" interrogates him, and persuades him not to proceed on the quest (D² E²). On finding the boy adamant, he instructs him where and how to get tigress's milk (F²). The hero accomplishes the job and returns ($\downarrow$), but he is soon sent on another mission to get a particular medicine, which he brings with the help of the "faqir" (B $\uparrow$ D² E² F² $\downarrow$). He is again sent to bring a comb from the grand-mother of the ogress queen. He accomplishes the job following the advice of the "faqir" (B $\uparrow$ D² E² F³ $\downarrow$). The boy finds the secret of the ogress queen's life, from her grand-mother, brings back the sterling with queen's life in it, and the medicine for curing blindness. He kills the ogress queen by killing the sterling (U), restores sight and status to his mothers (K⁵), returns ($\downarrow$), and becomes heir to the throne (W³).¹⁸

The move-wise functions of this tale are:

Move 1. β y^2 δ^2 η^3 θ^3 A⁶₁₀ B⁴ C $\uparrow$ D⁷ E⁷ F¹ K $\downarrow$

Move 2. ϵ^1 ζ^1 η^3 θ^3 [A] B $\uparrow$ D² E² F² $\downarrow$ B $\uparrow$ D² E² F² $\downarrow$ B $\uparrow$
D² E² F² U K $\downarrow$ W³

An examination of the above tale shows that in the first move the major lack created by villainy is not liquidated: What is liquidated is a temporary lack caused by the main Villainy i.e., the lack of subsistence. Though in the beginning of the tale, it appears as if the tale begins with the lack of a son, yet as the tale progresses it becomes very clear that the main lack is that of sight and status caused by the initial Villainy, which however is

liquidated towards the end of the tale, by punishing the villain and restoration of sight and status to the queens and rightful position to the hero.

Another Example:

[Move 1]

A prince and a minister's son are good friends (@). One day they go out practicing archery (β). The prince accidentally shoots at a woman, thereby injuring her (δ^2). Search for the culprit starts (ϵ^1). The woman recognizes the prince (ζ^1) and he is banished (A^9). By king's orders the soldiers take the prince out of the city and the minister's son voluntarily goes with him (B^3). They depart ($\uparrow$). Soon they encounter a beautiful woman (a fairy). The prince is enchanted by her beauty and follows her with his friend. They encounter robbers and are tricked and imprisoned ($\eta^1 \theta^1 A^{15}$). The prince's friend goes out to find some means of escape ($B^3 C \uparrow$). He finds the robbers' sister crying. She tells him that they would soon be killed (D^2). The minister's son promises her of marriage with the prince, if she helped them escape (E^2). She recites a charm, thereby helping them to escape (F^3). The two friends escape ($K^{10} \downarrow$), leaving behind the robbers' sister.

[Move 2]

Both the friends arrive in the Ivory city, take shelter in an old woman's house (@). The minister's son requests the woman not to tell any body about their arrival (y^1). The woman reports this to the princess (δ^1). The princess uses sign language to invite the prince to her palace, which the minister's son interprets for him. Fairy princess starts reconnaissance (ϵ^1), and gets all the information about the minister's son (ζ^1). Jealous and annoyed with the prince's love for his friend, she sends him poisoned food to eat (A^{13}), but he is saved. He reveals the misfortune to his friend the prince, who is very angry and upset (B^2), and wants to avenge this treachery ($C \uparrow$). The minister's son dispatches the prince giving him instructions to drug the princess and brand her with hot iron, and steal her pearl necklace (D^1). The prince follows the instructions (E^1), and steals the fairy's pearl necklace (F^8), brands her (J). Under the instructions of his friend, the prince goes to sell the necklace, is arrested by the King's security for stealing the

Move 2. $\beta^1 \zeta^1 \eta^3 \theta^3 A^{13} D E F^3 A^1 A^{xvi} B^4 C \uparrow [F] G^4 O Q Ex U$
 $K^4 \downarrow W^6$

So far we have examined multimove tales in which dramatis personae change roles in different moves. The change of character roles so far studied were villains transformed into donors, and vice versa, and victim hero transferring into a seeker hero and vice versa. We also have a tale in which the hero of the first move is transformed into a sort of villain in the second move. Let us examine the tale:

[Move 1]

A merchant has a gambler son. Frightened by the thought of losing his wealth by his son in gambling, he buries his treasures, makes a list of their location and hides it in a bracelet (@). At the time of his death (β^2) the merchant gives the bracelet to his daughter-in-law bidding her to give it to her husband when he asked for it (γ^2). When the son gambles and losses everything, the wife presents him with the bracelet and tells him all that his father had wished. The son fearing some charmed trick refuses to take the bracelet (δ^2) [A^2]. He leaves home in quest of a living ($B^2 C \uparrow$), and finds employment with a merchant (D^2). The gambling merchant joins the marriage party of his employer's son, and reaches his wife's place. There he discovers that his wife is infidel (A). He follows her to her paramour's house ($E^2 G^3$), where the bracelet worn by his wife is accidentally broken and a list comes out. The paramour reads aloud the list of treasures and their location and plans to dig them out for himself (F^2). The gambling merchant who is listening to their conversation rushes home and digs out the treasures (K^4), and returns ($\downarrow$). Later when he is persuaded to call his wife home, he goes to his in-laws. When the husband and wife are together, he narrates the details of her infidelity to his wife in the form of a tale, and she dies of the shock (U). He settles down afresh by marrying his employer's daughter (W^2).

[Move 2]

During an argument with his new wife the gambling merchant is offended and abandons her (A^9). She decides retaliation and leaves in disguise ($B^3 C \uparrow$). However, she in her disguised form makes friendship with the gambler merchant. He desires to buy her beautiful and well furnished house (D). The wife quotes four lakhs

and convinced of her innocence. He stays with her and she conceives ($D^2 E^2 F K^3$). He returns ($\downarrow$) to continue his journey.

[Move 2]

Hayaband leaves home on a journey (β^1), meets the villainous boys. They come to know of his stay with Zohra (δ^1), Disguised as holymen, they poison the ears of Zohra's father-in-law saying that a woman in his house has conceived and she is an ogress (η^3). The merchant finding Zohra pregnant believes them, and orders her to be beheaded ($\theta^3 A^{13}$). Zohra is taken to the jungle to be beheaded. Then she prays to God for mercy. When the soldiers raise their swords to kill her, these turn into wood (D E). Thus she escapes death and a clay resemblance of her head is changed into flesh and blood by God (F^3), and the soldiers present the same to the merchant. Zohra leaves the jungle, and asks a tree to look for Hayaband and inform him which way she has gone. Zohra arrives in another city, stays with an old widow and delivers a boy. The boy is stolen by the old widow, and sold to the queen of that country (A^1). Zohra weeps but it is of no use. The child in due course of time becomes a handsome youth, is fascinated by Zohra's beauty and proposes marriage to her (A^{xvi}). She requests for sometime to think the proposal over.

Hayaband on his return home is told of his wife's murder (B^4). He decides upon counteraction and wants to know the exact place of her murder (C), leaves home ($\uparrow$) and reaches the place. The tree explains how she was saved and shows him the way Zohra had gone by (F). Soon he reaches the place (G^4), unrecognized (O). At that time the wedding between the prince and Zohra Khatoon (son and mother) is about to take place. He sends his ring to Zohra, she recognizes him (Q). The prince is also recognized and the queen exposed (Ex). The wicked widow who had stolen the child for the queen is killed and the queen banished (U). Hayaband finds both his wife and son (K^4). They return to their country ($\downarrow$) and live happily everafter (W^6).²⁰

Thus the move wise functions of this tale are:

Move 1. $\epsilon^1 \zeta^1 \eta^1 \theta^1 y \delta \eta \theta A^{15} B \uparrow G^5 D^2 E^2 F K^3 \downarrow$

pearl necklace. When produced before the king, the prince says that his "guru" gave him the necklace to sell and leads the king to his "guru" [the minister's son in disguise]. The "guru" explains everything to the king and calls for the fairy princess. The brand on her back exposes her. The friends reveal their identity. The princess is married to the king (Q Ex K⁴). The prince and his friend return to their country (↓) and the prince becomes the king (W³).¹⁹

The move-wise functions of this tale are thus:

Move 1. β¹ δ² ε¹ ζ¹ A⁹ B³ ↑ η¹ θ¹ A¹⁵ B³ C ↑ D² E² F³ K¹⁰ ↓

Move 2. γ¹ δ¹ ε¹ ζ A¹³ B² C ↑ D¹ E¹ F⁸ J Q Ex K⁴ ↓ W³

Again the tale starts with an initial villainy in the form of banishment and a secondary villainy of imprisonment. While the secondary villainy is liquidated in the first move itself, the initial villainy is nullified at the end of the tale, after the liquidation of yet another intermediary villainy (A¹³), of the second move, by way of hero's return to his country and accession to throne. The villain of the first move is tricked into donorship. The minister's son helper of the first move becomes donor in the second move. See another example:

[*Move 1*]

A wealthy merchant has a son named Hayaband, (@). Once two poor beggar boys approach the merchant for alms (ε¹). He employs them in his business (ζ¹). After sometime Hayaband's marriage is arranged with a wealthy merchant's daughter, Zohra Khatoon. The boys are wicked and jealous, they poison the ears of the bride's father against Hayaband. They also frighten Hayaband by saying that his bride is an ogress (η¹ θ¹). On the insistence of the bride, however, the marriage takes place. While on her way to her husband's house Zohra is told in a dream, to go to the river side and untie a bracelet from a corpse (γ¹), which she does (δ¹). The villainous boys who were disappointed over their earlier failures seize this opportunity, sprinkle blood along the path Zohra has gone, and prove her to be an ogress (n θ), she is thrown into an isolation cell and barred from meeting her husband (A¹⁵). Hayaband is sent to another city with merchandise (B). He goes (↑). Then he discovers that the Account Book was left in Zohra's cell (G⁵), goes to collect it and there he is attracted by her beauty

as its price which he is not able to pay. The woman however settles the deal for two kisses ($E^{10} F^4_{10}$), and returns ($\downarrow$). Later when the husband boasts of having bought the house for four lakhs (L), the woman exposes him (Ex). Both reconcile and live happily hereafter. ($K W^6$).²¹

The move wise functions of this tale thus are:

Move 1. $\beta^2 y^2 \delta^2 A^2 B^3 C \uparrow D^2 E^2 G^3 F^2 K^4 \downarrow W^2$

Move 2. $A^9 B^3 C \uparrow D^{10} E^{10} F^{10}_4 \downarrow L Ex. K W^6$

In the first move of this tale it may appear as if there are two villainies, but the fact is that the first villainy that of seizure of the magical agent is realized only after the hero discovers the infidelity of his wife. Infidelity is a form of villainy here that initiates action. This, and the seizure of the magical agent and its retrieval, form the main plot of the tale. Infidelity serves as a motivation for the action, and is punished by death.

As is evident from the tale the hero of the first move is transformed into a villain in the second move.²² Since he is not of a very hostile nature, the villain is not punished.

A villain in a tale is either killed in a struggle or in the absence of it, punished, or under certain circumstances (that we will discuss later) pardoned or ignored. Pardoning usually follows the reconciliation mood of the villain as we saw in the preceding example and will see in the following example too:

[*Move 1*]

A brahmin and his wife enter an agreement (@), not to eat anything alone, and if they did they would become a lion and a she goat respectively (y^1). One day while feeding her children, the wife violates the agreement (δ^1), and is turned into a she goat (A^{11}). The brahmin remarries. The new wife is cruel to her stepchildren and starves them (A^2). The children disclose their misfortune to their mother the she goat who is now tied out in the garden ($B^4 \uparrow$). She advises them to strike her horns when they feel hungry (D^2). They follow the instructions (E^2). Food falls down from the horns (F^1), and they are thus saved from starvation, return and grow stronger ($K^6 \downarrow$).

[Move 2]

Seeing them grow stronger the stepmother sets her own daughter on the task of finding the secret of children's good health (ϵ^3). The girl accompanies the stepchildren everywhere, discovers the secret and reports to her mother (ζ^3). On hearing this the stepmother pretends illness, and asks her husband to kill the goat for curing her illness quickly ($\eta^3 \theta^3 A^{ii}$). When the children hear this they go and report this to the she-goat ($B^4 \uparrow$). She advises them not to worry and to collect her bones, once she is slaughtered, bury them in a place and whenever they felt hungry, they can get food from that place ($D^3 E^3 F^2$). The children bury the bones as advised and continue getting food regularly ($K^6 \downarrow$).

One day while washing her face the stepdaughter's nose ring falls into the river and is swallowed by a fish. The fish is caught and sold to the king. The royal cook finds the nose ring in the fish's stomach and presents it to the king. The king proclaims that the owner of the nose ring should be presented before him. The girl presents herself before the king. Fascinated by her beauty the king marries her (W^2) and provides for the support of her family".²³

The move wise functions of this tale are thus:

Move 1. $y^1 \delta^1 A^{11} A^2 B^4 \uparrow D^2 E^2 F^1 K^6 \downarrow$

Move 2. $\epsilon^3 \zeta^3 \eta^3 \theta^3 A^{ii} B^4 \uparrow D^3 E^3 F^2 K^6 \downarrow W^2$

Before examining some of the morphological characteristics of the individual moves and their combinations, let us place the move-wise functions of these tales together for examination.

Direct Moves
Two-Move Combinations A - K and its Repetition

Tale	Moves	β^2					
		1	2	1	2	1	2
<i>Tale 1</i> Dharam ya Karam	1 2			A B	D ² E ² F ² ₃	K ⁵ ↓	
		η^2	θ^2	A ⁹ B ²	↑ D ² E ² F ²	K ⁶ ↓	W ³
<i>Tale 2</i> The Robbers Robbed	1 2			A ¹⁹ B ² 14,9	↑ d ⁷ E F ²	K ⁵ ↓	
		β^1	ϵ^1 ζ^1	A ¹⁴ B ³ C	↑ D E F ³	K ⁵ ↓	P ^{r6} R ^{s9} U
<i>Tale 3</i> The Seven legged Beast	1 2			η θ A ¹⁴ B ⁴ C	↑ D E F ¹ H ¹ I ¹	K ⁷ ↓	
		γ^1 δ^1	η^1 θ^1	[A] B ²	↑ D E ⁷ F ¹	K ² ↓	MN Ex W ²
<i>Tale 4</i> How the Princess Found Her Husband	1 2	β^2		A	↑ D ² E ² F ²	K ↓	
		β^1		A ¹ B ⁵	↑ D ⁷ E ⁷ F ¹	K ⁵ ↓	O Q Ex U W ¹

<i>Tale 5</i> The Ogress Queen	1	β^1	y^2	δ^2	ε^1	ζ^1	η^3	θ^3	A^6	B^4	C	$\uparrow$	D^7	E^7	F^1	K	$\downarrow$	
	2						η^3	θ^3	[A]	B^2		$\uparrow$	D^2	E^2	F^2			
									B^2			$\uparrow$	D^2	E^2	F^2			
									B^2			$\uparrow$	D^2	E^2	F^2			
									B^2			$\uparrow$	D^2	E^2	F^2			
									B^2			$\uparrow$	D^2	E^2	F^2	K^5	$\downarrow$	U
																		W^3
<i>Tale 6</i> The Ivory City and its Fairy Princess	1	β	δ	ε	ζ	η^1	θ^1	A^9	B^5		C	$\uparrow$	D^2	E^2	F^3	K^{10}	$\downarrow$	
	2		y^1	δ^1	ε	ζ		A^{13}	B^2	C		$\uparrow$	D^1	E^1	F^8	J	K^4	$\downarrow$
																Q	Ex	W^3
<i>Tale 7</i> Hayaband and Zotra Khatoon	1	y^1	δ^1	ε^1	ζ^1	η^1	θ^1	A^{15}	B^2			$\uparrow$	D^2	E^2	F^3	G	K^3	$\downarrow$
	2	β^1			ζ^1	η^3	θ^3	A^{13}	A^1				D	E	F			
								A_{xvi}	B^4	C		$\uparrow$			[F]	G^4	K^4	$\downarrow$
																O	Q	Ex
																U	U	W^6
<i>Tale 8</i> The young Gambling Merchant	1	β^1	y^2	δ^2				A^2	B^3	C		$\uparrow$	D^2	E^2	F^2	G^2	K^4	$\downarrow$
	2							A^9	B^3	C		$\uparrow$	D^{10}	E^{10}	F^{10}	G^4	K	$\downarrow$
																L	Ex	W^6
<i>Tale 9</i> The Wicked Step Mother	1	y^1	δ^1					A^{11}	B^4			$\uparrow$	D^2	E^2	F^1	K^6	$\downarrow$	
	2			ε^3	ζ^3	η^3	θ^3	A^2				$\uparrow$	D^3	E^3	F^2	K^6	$\downarrow$	W^2

The move wise table of these tales shows following characteristic features :

1. The second move follows the first directly.
2. Both the moves are positive.
3. Both the moves are A - K (W) and its repetition, yet the table shows only one case of the first move culminating with the function W. (Wedding). In the subsequent moves, wherever function W is present it is in the form of both Wedding and accession to the throne, or accession to the throne or restoration of the lost status, or throne.
4. Both the moves develop through -
 - (i) D E F functions, alone,
 - (ii) or through DEF and H - I, functions,
 - (iii) or D E F plus M - N functions.
5. Functions H - I and M - N are in complimentary distribution. If both these sets are present, the M - N occurs only in the subsequent move, not the first one.
6. Similarly on the basis of these tales one finds that functions such as Pursuit-Rescue (Pr - Rs), Task - Task Resolved (M - N), Unrecognised arrival (O), False claims (L), Recognition (Q) Exposure and Punishment (Ex. U), are essentially a morphological feature of the second or the subsequent move.
7. Repetitions of functions in terms of treblings or otherwise occurs in the second move, and the set of repeated functions are indential. The functions more often repeated are the Villainy or the D E F unit.

5.1.1.2. Three Move Combinations

As we shall see, the tales in this section are three move tales, each following the other. At the end of each move a new villainy or misfortune gives rise to a fresh move. All the three moves of these tales are A - K type and its repetitions. This does not however, mean that other arrangements i.e., a - K followed by one or two more A - K (W) type moves is not possible, as we shall see in the next section. All the three moves in this section are positive. Each villainy is liquidated and the liquidation corresponds to the forms of villainies. Let us examine the tale:

[Move 1]

A "faqir" has a clever parrot (@). He asks for "some news" from the parrot (ε¹). The parrot reports about the master's wife eating a fowl

secretly (ζ^1). The master's wife is annoyed and asks her husband to send the parrot away (A^9). The "faqir" with a heavy heart, takes the parrot with him to sell ($B^3 \uparrow$). He arrives in the city where he is led to the king's palace by the kotwal and the wazir (G^2). The king asks the "faqir" the price of the parrot (D^2). Parrot quotes his own price at 10,000 rupees (E^2). Impressed by the parrot's sharp reply the king buys the parrot ($F K$) brings it home ($\downarrow$). The parrot lives happily with the king.

[Move 2]

One day the king's wives ask the parrot about their own looks (ϵ^1). The parrot tells them that though they are beautiful yet there is one, who is more beautiful than them (ζ^1). The queen is annoyed and pretends sick, and asks the king for the flesh of the parrot. The king orders the parrot to be killed (A^{13}). On the request of the parrot he is granted six days time and allowed to fly free ($B^6 C \uparrow$). He reaches an island where a princess is feeding parrots on pearls and candies (G^1). While other parrots eat pearls and candies, this parrot does not. Surprised, the princess questions this action of the parrot (D^2). In response, the parrot describes the wealth and generosity of its king and requests the princess to marry the king (E^2). The father of the princess agrees and gives it a letter for the king (F^3). The parrot returns, hands over the letter to the king. The king is happy and revokes his earlier order of killing the parrot ($K^{10} \downarrow$). The king marries the princess (W^2).

[Move 3]

After marriage the king along with his bride, the parrot and a magic foal depart from a different route to his country (β^1). They reach a small island, where the king wants to spend the night. The parrot requests him not to stay there as it is dangerous (y^1). The king being tired, ignores the warning and stays on the island (δ^1). In the night a ship passes that way. The captain kidnaps the queen and magic foal and sails (A^{12}). When the king awakens he is grieved, he laments and seeks parrot's help (B^1). The king is advised to cut a tree and sail on it. The parrot goes in search of the queen and the magical foal ($C \uparrow$). He finds the queen in a merchant's house. The queen gives him

instructions for her release from the merchant (D^7), and he follows her instructions (E^7). Following this the king and the queen ride on the magic foal (F^8), and follow the parrot and return ($K^{10} \downarrow$). They all live happily again. The parrot is appointed the chief Wazir (W^{6_7}).²⁴

Summed up the move wise functions of this tale thus are:

Move 1. $\epsilon^1 \zeta^1 A^9 B^5 \uparrow G^2 D^2 E^2 F K \downarrow$

Move 2. $\epsilon^1 \zeta^1 A^{13} B^6 C \uparrow G^1 D^2 E^2 F^3 K^{10} \downarrow W^2$

Move 3. $\beta^1 y^1 \delta^1 A^1_2 B^1 C \uparrow D^7 E^7 F^8 K^{10} \downarrow W^{6_7}$

The move combination figure is as follows:

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____

Direct Moves Three Move Combinations

Moves		
"The Clever Parrot"	1	$\epsilon^1 \zeta^1 A^9 B^5 \uparrow D^2 E^2 F G^2 K \downarrow W^2$
	2	$\epsilon^1 \zeta^1 A^{13} B^6 C \uparrow D^2 E^2 F^3 G^1 K^{10} \downarrow W^2$
	3	$\beta^1 y^1 \delta^1 A^1_2 B^1 C \uparrow D^7 E^7 F^8 K^{10} \downarrow W^{6_7}$

As is clear from the above analysis and comparison, there hardly seems any morphological difference between the three moves. Structurally speaking moves could as well be separate tales, yet the only link between these moves is the hero the parrot. In the first two moves it is a victimized hero, while in the third move it is the seeker hero. Move combination as shown in this table is very similar to that of the Two Move Combinations. All the three moves of this tale develop through D E F functions. That however does not mean that other developments are not possible, as we will see in the following sections.

5.1.1.3. Four Move Combinations

In this section we will examine four move tales of the Positive Direct Move Combination type. In this combination all the moves of the tale may be of A - K (W) type

or a tale may be a combination of a - K (W) and A - K(W) type. However, as we found earlier, in such combinations of a-K(W) and A - K (W) type tales, the a-K (W) is essentially the first move, as is all along evidenced in our data.

We have two tales in this section, which we shall examine here:

[Move 1]

A King has an unmarried son (@) and wants him to marry the daughter of an equally powerful king (a^1). The king seeks help of his wise parrot (B^1). The parrot agrees to help (C). The king ties the picture of the prince to one of the parrot's legs and the parrot leaves ($\uparrow$). The parrot arrives in another country, wants to rest in the hollow of a tree trunk when a threatening voice from within stops him (D^1). The parrot, however spends the night outside (E^1). In the morning a "Maina" emerges out of the tree, and tells the parrot that she is on an errand to find a suitable bridegroom for the daughter of her master the king (F^2). She presents the parrot to her master (G^1). The king after seeing the picture of the prince, gives consent for the marriage (KF^2). The parrot returns ($\downarrow$).

[Move 2]

Soon the preparations for the marriage begin (@) but suddenly the king dies (β^2). The bride's father refuses to comply with the agreement of marriage (A). The prince leaves his country and arrives at the princess's country ($B^3 C \uparrow$). When the prince along with his retinue is camping in a garden, the princess sees him. Comparing him with the picture she has of the prince, she discovers who he is. At meal time, she sends him gifts of food with a picture of his in it as an expression of her love (d^7). The prince reciprocates by sending a letter (E^7). Both elope (F). On the way they encounter robbers (H^1), whom they kill (I^1). Both are happy to be together (K^4), and return ($\downarrow$).

[Move 3]

Both halt and rest in a village (@). A "jinn" sees and slays the prince (A^{14}). The princess laments the death of her beloved (B^7). A holy man's wife who happens to pass that way asks the cause of her distress (D^2). The princess explains everything (E^2). She immediately sends the holy man who revives the prince with his magical powers ($F^1 K^9$). Both are happy and resume their journey ($\downarrow$).

[Move 4]

The prince and the princess reach a certain city where a witch lives with her daughter (@). Enchanted by the prince's beauty, the daughter wants to marry him. The witch invites the princess and her husband home. The daughter of the witch throws a magical cord into the prince's neck (η^2), and he turns into a ram ($\theta^2 A^{11}$). Not suspecting the witch the princess decides to search for her husband ($B^3 C$), and disguised as a male goes in search of her beloved ($\uparrow$). She is appointed as a police inspector and makes friendship with the witch's daughter. The king of that country is fascinated by a particular magical cloth and orders the police inspector (the princess) to fetch that for him (D^7). She manages to get the magical cloth with the help of the witch's daughter (E^7). The king is happy and makes him (princess disguised) his successor (F^1). Now with the new powers of a successor to the throne, the princess orders all the rams of the city to be brought to her. The house of the witch too is searched and the ram brought to her. At that time the cord breaks and the prince emerges young and beautiful ($K^8 \downarrow$). The witch is executed (U). The princess declares the prince as the king of the country and herself becomes the queen (W^1).²⁵

The move wise functions of this tale are:

- Move 1. $a^1 B^1 C \uparrow D^1 E^1 F^2 G^1 K \downarrow$
 Move 2. $\beta^2 A B C \uparrow d^7 E^7 F H^1 I^1 K^4 \downarrow$
 Move 3. $A^{14} B^7 D^2 E^2 F^1 K^9 \downarrow$
 Move 4. $\eta^2 \theta^2 A^{11} B^3 C \uparrow D^7 E^7 F^1 K^8 \downarrow U W^1$

Move combination of this tale is as follows:

1. _____.
2. _____.
3. _____.
4. _____.

The above tale is a four move tale. The first a-K type move is followed by three more A-K type moves. This tale has three protagonists the parrot hero in the first move, the prince in the second and the third move, and the princess in the fourth, the last move. The

villains however change in different moves. There is however, a continuous sense of some lack in all the moves, till the end of the tale. This lack is the lack of status and kingdom. Though at the end of every move the immediate villainy is liquidated, yet, it is at the end of the last move that both the protagonists the prince and the princess are restored their initial status of the king and the queen – the initial desire and lack of the first move.

The sequence of functions in some tales may not always be the same as shown in Propp's total scheme. This is evidenced particularly in the case of functions D E F and G. Propp also realizes this possibility or rather capability of some functions changing places and maintains, that such sequences should not be construed as deviations but rather "inverted [obraščenny] sequences".²⁶ One such "inverted sequence", according to Propp is the receipt of a helper by heroes in tales before the misfortune befalls. In other words then, in such tales, the morphological twist suggests that the functions D E F precede the occurrence of function. A. In such tales the narrators bring in the helpers, before the actual villainy takes place in narratives, and these helpers in turn take upon themselves the task of heroes, go in search of the objects, fight the villains, and liquidate lacks or villainies. In such narratives, the number of helpers engaged may also determine, sometimes, the number of moves in a tale. Moreover all characters of a tale in such situations may change their roles in different moves. For instance a helper of the first move may become a villain in the subsequent move or vice- versa as we shall see in the following tale:

[Move 1]

A merchant sends his son with three hundred rupees to try his luck in trade (β^1). The son spends the money in saving a snake, a cat and a dog from being killed ($D^5 E^5 F^4$). The father is annoyed by this extravagance and orders his son to be thrown in the stables (A^9). The cat, dog and snake accompany him. Moved by his misfortune, the snake reveals his real identity and requests his master to seek help from his father the snake king (B^2). The merchant's son agrees (C). Guided by the snake he arrives at a spring ($\uparrow$), and both dive into it (G^2). The snake advises his master to demand from the snake king a magic ring, a magic pot and spoon in exchange for his son (D^4). The merchant's son follows the instructions (E^4), and acquires the magic ring and the magic pot and spoon ($F^1 K^5$). He returns ($\downarrow$) and joins his dog and the cat. The magic ring provides him with a beautiful palace (T), a beautiful woman, and the nicest food. He marries the woman and they live happily (W^2).

[Move 2]

After some time this beautiful woman while combing her golden hair, puts some matted hair into a reed, and throws it into the river. The reed falls into the hands of a prince, and he desires to possess her (e^1). Eventually an agrees (his aunt) goes in search of the golden haired woman, and traces her out (ζ^1). The disguised ogress introduces herself as the woman's aunt, and obtains the secret of the magical ring by a trick ($\eta^1 \theta^1$). She disappears with the ring. The prince, after possessing the ring owns the beautiful occupant, the merchant's wife (A^1). On his return from work, the merchant's son finds his wife and the palace missing. He laments the loss of his possessions (B^4). The cat and the dog who were witness to the disappearance of the house and the lady comfort their master and go in search of the lost possessions ($C \uparrow$). They arrive at the king's palace, where the cat discovers, that the magic ring is in the stomach of the ogress. The cat seizes a rat for necessary help, threatens it with death unless it brings the magic ring out (D^5). The rat agrees, puts its tail into the open mouth of the ogress. She vomits the ring (E^5). The rat gives it to the cat ($F^8 K^1$) and the cat and the dog return ($\downarrow$).

[Move 3]

While crossing a stream the cat sits on the dog's back. Dog threatens the cat of drowning unless the ring is given to him (y^2). The cat obliges (δ^2). The dog suddenly drops the ring which is swallowed by a fish (A^2). The dog laments this loss (B^4). The cat resolves to act ($C \uparrow$) and with the help of the "Nadhar" (a bird that eats fish) uses the threatening tactics to recover the ring from the king fish ($D^5 E^5 F^8 K^1$), and they return ($\downarrow$).

[Move 4]

While returning the dog again threatens the cat (y^2) and the latter submits to its threats (δ^2). The dog drops the ring and it is carried away by a kite (A^2). Dog laments its fully (B^4). The cat resolves action (C), goes and engages in a fight with the kite ($\uparrow H^1$), kills it (I^1) and recovers the magic ring (K^1). They return ($\downarrow$), give the ring to the merchant's son who speaks to the ring, and his beautiful wife and the palace reappear (K^2). They all live happily thereafter (W^6).²⁷

The move wise functions of this tale are:

Move 1. $\beta^1 D^5 E^5 F^4 A^9 B^2 C \uparrow G^2 D^4 E^4 F^1 K^5 \downarrow TW$

Move 2. $\varepsilon^1 \zeta^1 \eta^1 \theta^1 A^1_2 B^4 C \uparrow D^5 E^5 F^8 K^1 \downarrow$

Move 3. $y^2 \delta^2 A^2 B^4 C \uparrow D^5 E^5 F^8 K^1 \downarrow$

Move 4. $y^2 \delta^2 A^2 B^4 C \uparrow H^1 I^1 K^1 \downarrow K^2 W^6$

The move combination of this tale is as follows:

1. _____.

2. _____.

3. _____.

4. _____.

Before we discuss the morphological similarities or differences of these Four Move Tale Combinations discussed earlier let us put move wise functions of these tales side by side:

Direct Moves
Four-Move Combinations (Positive)

Moves											
Tale 1											
"The Prince who was changed into a Ram"	1		$a^1 B^1$	$C \uparrow$	$D^1 E^1 F^2 G^1$			$K \downarrow$			
	2	β^2	$A B$	$C \uparrow$	$D^7 E^7 F$		$H^1 I^1$	$K^4 \downarrow$			
	3		$A^{14} B^7$		$D^2 E^2 F^1$			$K^9 \downarrow$			
	4		$\eta^2 \theta^2 A^{11} B^3$	$C \uparrow$	$D^7 E^7 F^1$			$K^8 \downarrow$		$U W^1$	
Tale 2											
"The Charmed Ring"	1	$\beta^1 D^5 E^5 F^4$	$A^9 B^2$	$C \uparrow$	$D^4 E^4 F^1 G^2$			$K^5 \downarrow$	T	W^2	
	2		$\eta^1 \theta^1 A^1_2 B^4$	$C \uparrow$	$D^5 E^5 F^8$			$K^1 \downarrow$			
	3	$y^2 \delta^2$	$A^2 B^4$	$C \uparrow$	$D^5 E^5 F^8$			$K^1 \downarrow$			
	4	$y^2 \delta^2$	$A^2 B^4$	$C \uparrow$			$H^1 I^1$	$K^1 \downarrow$ K^2		W^6	

Having examined the move wise functions of the Four Move Combination Tales given in the above table, we find that these tales are comprised of four moves each, all positive and direct moves, of two types a - K and A - K (W) combination, and A - K and its repetition. Morphologically moves of a single tale are more or less identical. Development of the single moves is through functions D E F, or DEF and H - I, or H - I alone. A move that develops through H-I alone is the subsequent last move as evidenced in our data.

A comparison of these tales with those discussed in the preceding sections shows that moves of the Direct Move Positive type develop and combine in a similar way irrespective of the number of moves that a tale consists of.

5.1.2. Positive - Negative and Negative - Positive Move Combinations

This group of tales consists of multimove narratives which have two or more moves, that follow each other directly. In the case of the direct multimove tales we described in the preceding section, we found, and observed that all the moves of these tales were of positive nature. The otherwise independent moves of the tales end with a positive conclusion. In other words the liquidation of lack or villainy or both are an essential element of each move. In this section however, we shall describe the morphology of tales that have more than one move, following each other directly, yet one of these moves ends positively and the other(s) negatively. On the basis of order of moves in these tales, this group can further be divided into two sub groups:

- (i) Negative - Positive Move Combination.
- (ii) Positive - Negative Move Combination.

5.1.2.1 Negative - Positive Move Combinations

In this section we will examine the direct move combination tales, where in one or more negative moves are followed by a positive one. The last move is invariably the positive move and the tales conclude with the positive ending. The protagonist of all the moves in these types of tales is very often the same person, or representing the same person or family (family being one unit). A continuous sense of lack or villainy prevails till the end of the tale, irrespective of the number of moves; the implication being that the Lack or Villainy of the first or the preceding move or moves is not liquidated. Therefore, it is natural that the last move, the positive move, must liquidate the villainy or the lack, thus providing a positive conclusion to the narrative. However there are cases where a new villainy adds to the already existing lack giving rise to the new quests and new moves. Under such circumstances, each fresh move may introduce a new protagonist - a member

of the same family (single unit), who carries on the quest but fails to liquidate the lack or villainy. This process continues till the last move which ends positively. In tales of this type we often find the entire negative move being repeated several times before the last move, that however ends with positive results. See for example the following tale :

[Move 1]

There lives a poor woodcutter with a wife and seven daughters to support (@ a⁵). One day while he is out (↑) to bring wood he rests under the shade of a tree. The lucky bird "Huma" sitting on the tree is moved by his poverty and decides to help him. She lays a golden egg for him (D). The wood cutter thinking it was an ordinary egg sells it to a shopkeeper for just a rupee (E neg, F neg). The cunning shop keeper promises him a reward of one rupee if he brought the bird that laid the egg. Next day he again pretends sleeping under the same tree. The "Huma" bird seeing the misery of the wood cutter lays another egg very near to him, making sure that he does not miss it. The wood cutter immediately gets hold of the bird and takes it to the shop keeper. The bird pleads mercy (D⁵). The wood cutter refuses (E neg). Then the bird offers a magical agent and a big reward (D¹⁰). The wood cutter is adamant (E neg). On the way to the shop, the bird suddenly dies and the wood cutter loses everything the egg, the bird and the money (F contrary).

[Move 2]

Poor wood cutter having lost both the egg and the bird repents on his foolishness (A²). A friend advises him to go and meet Hatam the generous King who might help him (B³). The wood cutter goes (C ↑), relates his woes to the king and pleads for help. Hatam who is by inevitable circumstances reduced to poverty despite his kingship offers him his only daughter for sale (D¹), whom the wood cutter takes along with him (E¹). A prince on a hunting expedition sees the girl and proposes marriage to her (F⁵). The wood cutter agrees and becomes very rich (K⁶), and returns home (↓). On hearing the facts from his wife and the woodcutter, the prince fixes a lifelong pension for the wood cutter, invites Hatam to rule his country as well, and retrieves the egg from the shop keeper (K¹ W³7).²⁸

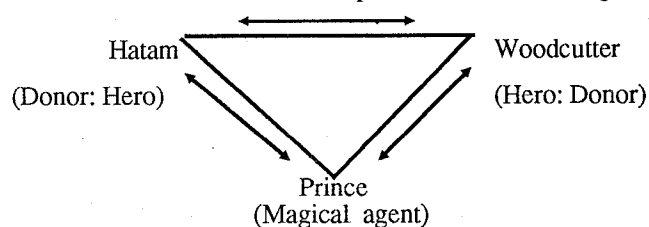
The move-wise functions of this tale are

Move 1. $a^5 D^{10} E \text{ neg. } D^5 E \text{ neg. } D^{10} E \text{ neg. } F \text{ cont.}$

Move 2. $A^2 B^3 C \uparrow D^1 E^1 F^5 K^6 \downarrow K^1 W^3$

The initial lack of subsistence in the first move remains unliquidated inspite of the donor's test being repeated three times, thereby, necessitating another quest and another move. The lack of the first move is carried over to the second move, as well. In tales, when the hero fails to react to the donor's test or when his reaction is improper or negative, no transfer of magical agent takes place. In such cases, hero is faced with functions F negative or F contrary. When no magical agent or object is delivered by the donor to the hero, we have function F neg. In case of functions F contrary, the hero is punished, as we see in the above example and some others that follow. This form (F contrary), then, is more like a manifestation of Villainy, necessitating a fresh move. In other words, there seems to be as much possibility of a friendly donor being transformed into a villain, due to the hero's improper action or negative reaction, as that of a Villain being tricked into a donor, as a result of the cleverness, and proper reaction of a hero.

In the second move of this tale, we find a strange yet interesting combination of hero and donor complementing each other. Though the tale as well as the move begins with the wood cutter as hero, yet as the tale progresses, we witness a complementation and exchange of hero-donor roles, and towards the end the attributes of hero are transformed and shared by the donor as well. Prince (magical agent) mediates between the woodcutter and Hatam. Again the last morphological function of W (Reward and Accession to the throne) are shared by both the wood cutter and Hatam. The relationship of different characters and their roles can better be explained in the following diagram:



In such multimove tales, besides a continuous sense of lack or villainy persisting even at the end of a move, a fresh villainy or misfortune may give rise to another subsequent move as we will see in the following tale:

[*Move 1*]

A goldsmith due to excessive gambling is reduced to poverty (@ a^5).
He borrows some money from his wife for making a bracelet for sale

and to earn money ($B^3 C$). Makes one and goes out to sell ($\uparrow$). There he meets the Wazir's son, who is in search of such a bracelet (D^{10}). The goldsmith presents it to him (E^2), and accepts no money (f^9). He again goes ($\uparrow$) and presents bracelets to the Dewan's son and a thief under similar circumstances and seeks their friendship ($D^{10} E^2 f^9 D^{10} E^2 f^9$). Thus he loses whatever money his wife has. ($\downarrow$)

[Move 2]

The goldsmith goes to see his newly made friends (β^1). There he encounters the princess who requests for some particular pears that are grown in her father's garden (y^2). The goldsmith manages to pluck some pears for the princess (δ^2). Then the Dewan's son while offering pears to the princess on a knife point kills her accidentally (θ^1). The king searches for the murderer (ϵ^1), receives information about the goldsmith and his pears (ζ^1). He is arrested and ordered to be executed (A^{13}). The gold smith desires to see his friends and he is allowed to go ($B^3 \uparrow$). He meets his friends who assure him of their help ($D E F^9$). At the time of his execution his friends act fast and release the goldsmith (K^{10}). The goldsmith returns ($\downarrow$).²⁹

The move-wise functions of this tale are thus:

$$\begin{array}{ll} \text{Move 1.} & a^5 B^3 C \uparrow D^{10} E^2 [f^9] D^{10} E^2 [f^9] D^{10} E^2 [f^9] \downarrow \\ \text{Move 2.} & \beta^1 y^2 \delta^2 \theta^2 \epsilon^1 \zeta^1 A^{13} B^3 \uparrow D E F^9 K^{10} \downarrow \end{array}$$

As is evident from the above example the DEF functions in the first move are repeated three times, yet the basic lack for goldsmith to gain normal wealth remains unliquidated. Unlike the earlier (preceding) example the reaction to donor's test in this tale is positive and the result also positive, yet the lack remains unliquidated. Also consider the form of function F in this move. The magical object/helper is not directly transferred, therefore we represent it as f^9 . In the absence of direct transfer of the magical helper in this tale, the hero "receives the right to a helper" as and when he needs it. Sometimes magical agents or helpers thus acquired in the first move, are made use of only in the second or the subsequent moves. In such tales where magical objects/helpers acquired in the first move are not put to use to liquidate the lack or villainy of that move, one or more subsequent moves become necessary to account for the presence of these objects or helpers, in the narratives, as we find in this tale and the tale of "The Charmed Ring" discussed in the preceding section.

Besides the initial lack of subsistence, the second move of this tale starts with a fresh overt kind of villainy. But for the second villainy that is liquidated at the end of the second move it would appear as if it was a single move tale.

There are instance of tales in which more than one person plays the protagonist of a move. Irrespective of the number of persons that decide on counteraction or go in search of something (in a move), they necessarily seem to form a singular unit. Therefore it would seem that the number of protagonists particular of a move has no impact, speaking morphologically, on the course of action of a tale. Let us examine the following tale:

[Move 1]

A woman has two husbands: One day-thief and another night-thief (@). One day the two thieves discover that they live in the same house and have the same woman as their wife (A). They disapprove of the arrangement and ask her to choose one among the two. She declares that whoever brings most valuable spoils in the next two days, will be her real husband (B^2). The thieves agree and leave in search of good spoils ($C \uparrow$). The day thief goes to a jeweller and steals his jewels and returns ($DE F^8$). Next the night-thief goes to the king's palace and steals king's jewels ($D^7 E^7 F^8$) and returns ($\downarrow$). The woman declares them equal (K neg).

[Move 2]

Next day the thieves again go off in search of the spoils ($B^3 C \uparrow$), each trying to acquire more than the other and outwitting each other. The day thief robs a caravan and acquires pony fulls of gold and jewels ($DE F^8$). The night-thief cleverly deprives a group of thieves of their booty, while they were trying to bury it in the graveyard ($DE F^8$). Both the thieves return home ($\downarrow$). The reports of series of daredevil thefts disturb the king who proclaims that if the thieves confessed they would be pardoned and perhaps rewarded (D^2). The day-thief and the night-thief confess their guilt explaining the circumstances (E^2). The king pardons them and rewards them ($F^1 K$). They return and the wicked woman is punished ($\downarrow U$).³⁰

The move wise functions of this tale thus are:

Move 1. $AB^2 C \uparrow DEF^8 DEF^8 \downarrow K \text{ neg.}$

Move 2. $[A] B^2 C \uparrow DEF^8 DEF^8 D^2 E^2 F^1 K \downarrow U$

The form of villainy of this tale is peculiar one, and continues till the end of the tale. The second move of this tale has an inherent villainy that is carried over from the first move and figured as [A].

Besides maintaining the sense of continuous lack, each new move seems to add to the already existing lack or villainy giving rise to fresh quests and moves. In such tales each new move may introduce a new protagonist who fails to liquidate the misfortune, and more often than not, the entire moves are repeated several times, before the last positive move which finally liquidates the lack or villainy. See the following example:

[Move 1]

A king has four sons (@). He orders them to patrol the country's borders in turns day and night (B^2). The elder brother in course of his wanderings ($C \uparrow$), happens to meet a "jogi" who has five beautiful horses. The prince desires to ride one. The "jogi" lends him a horse and bids him to go, gain experience and return, and interpret what he saw (D^1). The prince returns but is unable to interpret what he saw (E neg.) The prince is turned into a stone (F cont.).

[Move 2]

The disappearance of his brother (A^1) leads the second son to go in search of his brother ($B^3 C \uparrow$). He also meets the same "jogi", desires to ride a horse. Rides away with the same condition as his brother (D^1), is unable to explain (E neg) and is turned into a stone (F cont.).

[Move 3]

Then follows the third son and meets the same fate ($A^1 B^3 C \uparrow D^1$ E neg. F cont.).

[Move 4]

Fourth son also is turned into stone in the same manner ($A^1 B^3 C \uparrow D^1$ E neg. F Cont.).

[Move 5]

The king suspecting harm to his sons (A^{11}) goes himself in search of them ($B^3 C \uparrow$). He arrives at the place where "jogi" stayed and where his four sons stood frozen, turned into stones. The "jogi" asks

the king to explain four scenes that his sons were unable to explain (D^1). The king explains (E^1). The spell is broken and the princes come back to life and form ($F^3 K^8$). The king along with his four sons returns ($\downarrow$). He hands over the government of his kingdom to his sons and devotes himself entirely to religious life (W Contrary). ³¹

The move wise functions of this tale are thus:

- Move 1. $B^2 C \uparrow D^1 E- F$ cont.
 Move 2. $A^1 B^3 C \uparrow D^1 E- F$ cont.
 Move 3. $A^1 B^3 C \uparrow D^1 E- F$ cont.
 Move 4. $A^1 B^3 C \uparrow D^1 E- F$ cont.
 Move 5. $A^1 B^3 C \uparrow D^1 E F^3 K^8 \downarrow W$ cont.

Before we examine the main characteristic features of the Negative - Positive Direct Move Combinations, let us see the morphological functions of these tales and their move combinations side by side:

Negative - Positive Move Combination

Tale No	Moves	Functions
Tale 1 Good King Hatam	1	$a^5 D^{10} E F-$ $D^5 E- F$ $D^{10} E- F$ cont
	2	$A^2 B^3 C \uparrow D^1 E^1 F^5 K^6 \downarrow W^3$
Tale 2 The Goldsmith and His Friends	1	$a^5 B^3 C \uparrow D^{10} E^2 [f^9]$ $D^{10} E^2 [f^9]$ $D^{10} E^2 [f^9]$
	2	$\beta^1 y \delta^1 \epsilon \zeta \theta A^{13} B^3 C \uparrow D^2 E^2 F^9 K^{10} \downarrow$

<i>Tale 3</i>	1	A	B ²	C	↑	D ¹	E	F ⁸	
The Day						D	E	F ⁸	↓
Thief And	2	A	B ²	C	↑	D	E	F ⁸	
The Night						D	E	F ⁸	
Thief						D ²	E ²	F ¹	K ↓ U
<i>Tale 4</i>	1	[A]	B ²	C	↑	D ¹	E-	F	cont
Four	2	A ¹	B ³	C	↑	D ¹	E-	F	cont
Princes	3	A ¹	B ³	C	↑	D ¹	E-	F	cont
Turned	4	A ¹	B ³	C	↑	D ¹	E-	F	cont
into		A ¹	B ³	C	↑	D ¹	E ¹	F	K ⁸ ↓ W cont
Stone	5								

An examination of the above chart of these Negative-Positive Move Combination tales reveals as follows:

1. The first move is directly followed by a second or subsequent move which begins at the end of the preceding move or moves.
2. The last and the concluding move of the tale is a positive one. The preceding move or moves, irrespective of their number, are essentially negative moves. In other words the lack, misfortune or villainy remains unliquidated in the first or the preceding moves. It is only in the last move that the lack or villainy is liquidated.
3. The development in these tales is only through D E F functions. Other developments such as H - I and M - N are absent in these tales.
4. Repetition being a very dominant feature in these tales, sets of functions or even entire negative moves may be repeated a number of times, before the final and the last move.
5. Functions D E F are repeated several times in the preceding negative moves. There is no such repetition in the second or the subsequent positive move with an exception (Tale No. 3), where the D E F functions fail to invoke liquidation of villainy twice. This is a case of trebling of D E F functions, wherein the function of this unit is completed only the third time. This however is in con-

formity with the other Positive Direct Move Tale combinations discussed earlier.

6. While two tales end with accession to the throne i.e., Functions W^3 , in only one tale the villain is punished.

5.1.2.2. Positive - Negative Move Combinations

This section consist of multimove tales with a move combination peculiar to the reward and punishment or "Cinderella Cycle" of tales. This move combination is quite opposed to the preceding section (5. 1. 2. 1). In the previous section, we discussed tales, wherein the introduction of new moves or repetition of a particular move, a number of times is necessitated by the negative result of the first, or the preceeding move. However, in this section, it is the positive result of the first move, that provokes fresh quest thereby giving rise to new moves though the sought for object or the object of quest is the same.

This section consists of those tales which have first positive move followed by a negative one or more. These moves begin with a common lack or misfortune but gradually develop into symmetrically opposite moves. The moves have more than one protagonist each, as we shall see in the examples that follow, and the object of search remains same, for all the moves. In the first move the hero's proper reaction or response to the donor's test brings him reward, and thus results in the liquidation of lack. The improper, contrary or negative reaction on the part of the hero in the subsequent move brings retribution, either in the form of punishment or nontransference of the magical agent or object, and the lack remains unliquidated.

Let us examine the tales :

[Move 1]

Once a terrible famine hits Kashmir (@ A^3). There are lamentations through out the valley (B^7). A group of four brothers decide to flee the country ($C \uparrow$), in search of means of survival. They reach a place where they rest for the night. Around midnight they awake by hearing the shrill voice of a bird. The elder brother orders his younger brothers to catch and kill the bird. The brothers obey his orders, catch the bird, and when they are about to kill it, the bird pleads for mercy (D^5). On its request, the bird's life is spared (E^5), and it shows them a treasure under the trunk of the tree (F^2). They dig and find the treasure (K^5), and return home ($\downarrow$).

[Move 2]

Hearing this, another group of four brothers of a neighboring family decide to visit this place in search of fortune (@). They leave the country ($B^3 C \uparrow$), and reach the place where they rest for the night. Around midnight, they hear the shrill voice of the bird (D^2). The elder brother orders to catch the bird and bring a knife to kill it. The brothers do not obey (E neg). The bird bids them to go back without treasure (F neg).³²

The move-wise functions of this tale are thus:

Move 1. $A^3 B^7 C \uparrow D^5 E^5 F^2 K^5 \downarrow$

Move 2. $B^3 C \uparrow D^2 E \text{ neg. } F \text{ neg.}$

The second tale in this section has a kind of initial disequilibrium which is temporarily removed in the first move, yet at the end of the subsequent moves of the tale, the disequilibrium seems to remain. Let us examine the tale morphologically:

[Move 1]

A poor man and his two children (@) have no food and clothes (a^5). During their wanderings ($C \uparrow$), they meet a 'faqir' and seek his blessings. The 'faqir' advises them to go to a particular place for prayers, one by one, and wish for only one thing at a time (D^1). In goes the daughter first who wishes to be beautiful (E^1). Soon she becomes the most beautiful girl in the country (F^1). She is noticed by the king who takes her to his palace ($K^6 \downarrow$) and marries her (W^2).

[Move 2]

The poor father, with his daughter gone leaving him behind, becomes jealous of his daughter's fortune (A^2). He goes to the place as directed by the faqir ($BC \uparrow D^1$), prays and wishes a sore for his daughter (E^1). She gets a sore and is turned out of the palace (F cont. $\downarrow$).

[Move 3]

The son grieved by this misfortune ($A^6 B$) goes to the place as directed by the faqir ($C \uparrow D^1$) prays and makes two wishes (E neg) and gets nothing (F neg).³³

The move-wise functions of this tale are:

Move 1. $a^5 C \uparrow D^1 E^1 F^1 K^6 \downarrow W^2$

Move 2. $A^2 B^3 C \uparrow K^1 E- F \text{ cont.}$

Move 3. $A^6 B C \uparrow D^1 E- F-$

Let us place the move-wise functions of this set of tales side by side before, we attempt at analyzing them.

Positive - Negative Moves

<i>Tale No.</i>	<i>Moves</i>	<i>Functions</i>
<i>Tale 1</i> Unity is strength	1	$A^3 B^7 C \uparrow D^5 E^5 F^2 K^5 \downarrow$
	2	$B^3 C \uparrow D^2 E- F-$
<i>Tale 2</i> The Prayerful Faqir	1	$a^5 C \uparrow D^1 E^1 F^1 K^6 \downarrow W^2$
	2	$A^2 B^3 C \uparrow D^1 E-^1 F \text{ cont}$
	3	$A^6 B C \uparrow D^1 E- F-$

The move combination of these tales in terms of result is exactly opposed to the Negative - Positive Move Combination tales, that we discussed in the preceding section. The first move of this set of tales as the table shows, is essentially a positive move, followed by one or more negative moves. While the lack or villainy of the first move is liquidated at the end of the move, the action in the second or subsequent move is more as a consequence of jealousy caused mainly by the success of the hero or protagonists of the first move than due to a continuous sense of lack or misfortune. The villainy or misfortune in the second move is imagined or falsely claimed. Therefore, in the absence of a genuine lack or villainy the liquidation does not take place.

Yet another difference between these tales, and the ones we discussed in the Negative Positive Move Combinations is, that unlike the earlier tales, the hero of each move of these tales, very often is a different person. Even when they are introduced together or as a single unit, they drift apart in pursuing their goals as we witness in the second tale.

An interesting finding that emerges out of these Negative - Positive and Positive - Negative Move Combinations and other multimove tales in general is the significance of the Hero - Donor relationship in the development of a tale - single move or multimove, a - K (W) type, or A - K type. While the hero's proper reaction to the donor's test results in both the transfer of a magical agent, or helper, and the liquidation of lack or villainy whatever the case be, an improper reaction or inaction on the part of hero may result in : (a) non-transference of the magical agent or helper, (b) non-liquidation of lack or villainy, (c) both (a) and (b), (d) or punishment and aggravation of the existing lack or misfortune.

5.2. Interwoven Moves

Interwoven moves are essentially multimove combination tales. Such tales begin with a common Villainy or Lack followed by two or more villainies or misfortunes; or these may begin with two or more villainies that are liquidated in subsequent moves. Describing the possible combination of moves in Russian fairy tales Propp writes:

"A tale may begin with two villainies at once, of which the first one may be liquidated completely before the other is. If the hero is killed and a magical agent is stolen from him, then first of all the murder is liquidated and then the theft is liquidated also".³⁴

These moves, more often develop through D E F functions and are identical in form. The tales begin with a common villainy, split into different moves, but all the moves have a common beginning and a common ending. This type of move combination, can be roughly expressed in the following manner:



A common villainy at the beginning of the tale may sometimes give rise to more moves depending on the number of persons — the would be heroes (seeker or victimized), who depart from home. If at the beginning of the tale the villainy or the misfortune causes four brothers or friends to leave their vicinity, or are banished or they seek departure, it is possible that four separate moves develop figuring each of the brothers, or friends as hero. Thus the number of moves of a tale is by and large determined by the number of protagonists who depart from home as a result of common villainy, or misfortune. Let us examine these tales:

[Move 1]

A proud king is defeated in war and flees with his queen and two sons (A^9 19). They reach a seashore where the queen is abducted by a sailor (A^1). The family is grieved and the desperate king while crossing a river is drowned and swallowed alive by a fish (A^{10}). The boys lament the loss of their parents (B^4). They are interrogated by a fisherman (D^2), and the boys narrate their tale (E^3). The fisherman who does not have his own son, adopts them (F^9), and takes them home.

[Move 2]

Meanwhile the queen is sold to a merchant. The merchant desires to marry her (D^1), she accepts the proposal but requests for some time (E^1). The merchant agrees (F^1).

[Move 3]

The king is rescued from the fish (G) and employed by a potter ($D^2 E^2 F^1$). The king of that country is dead and the rescued king is chosen the king by an elephant and eagle as per the custom of that country (K^4).

Meanwhile the two princes seek employment with the new king (G). The merchant and the queen also arrive in that kingdom (G), unrecognised (O). One day while on guard at the queen's palace, the elder brother narrates their own tale to the younger one. The queen hears them and recognizes them as her children (Q). She reveals her identity (Q). Both the princes and the queen go to the king and narrate their sad story in a bid to get released from the merchant. The king recognizes his lost wife and children (Q) and they live happily hereafter (W^6).³⁵

The movewise functions of this tale are thus:

$$1. A^{1,9,10,19} < B \left[\begin{array}{l} 1. D^2 E^3 F^1 \\ 2. D^1 E^1 F^1 \\ 3. G D^2 E^2 F^2 K^4 W^3 \end{array} \right] G O Q : W^6$$

Another example:

[Move 1]

A king has four sons with all possible vices (@). On the advice of his minister, the king banishes his sons. (A⁹) Vowing vengeance they leave home and arrive in another country (B⁵ ↑). In this country a merchant has died and his friends are in search of people to keep watch of the corpse at night. They approach these brothers with offers of money (D³). The brothers agree to guard the corpse by turn (E³). For the first hour elder prince remains awake. Suddenly he sees the dead man get up, speak, and challenge him to play a game of "nard" (E), defeats the dead merchant and knows from the corpse the location of a treasure (KF²). He returns (↓).

[Move 2]

When it is the turn of the second prince to watch the corpse, the first prince advises him to be careful as the corpse is possessed (A B³4). The second brother goes into the room (C ↑). He sees a one eyed devil come to take corpse and frightens the devil. The devil seeks mercy (D⁵). The prince lets him go (E⁵) but in return asks him to change the course of the river through the king's palace (F³4) After the end of his hour the prince returns (↓).

[Move 3]

The second prince bids the third prince to be alert and careful as the corpse is possessed and dispatches him (A B³4). The third prince goes into the room (C ↑). He sees an ogress come to take the corpse (D⁹), chases her, cuts off her legs (E⁹), takes her shoes (F⁸) and returns (↓).

[Move 4]

The fourth prince is warned of the dangers and asked to be alert and careful (A B³4). He sets forth to watch the corpse (C ↑), sees a "jinn" carrying the princess of that country (A¹). He follows the "jinn". When the jinn is away in search of fire and oil to cook the princess,

the prince changes clothes with the princess. He kills the "jinn" by pushing him into the bubbling cauldron ($D^8 E^8 K F$) and returns to the corpse and the princess ($\downarrow$). In the morning when they are paid the amount agreed upon, they demand more. The matter goes to the king. They explain everything that happened that night with proofs. They are rewarded. The elder brothers become chiefs and the youngest marries the princess (W^1). After sometime they return to their country ($\downarrow$), fight a battle with the father's forces (H^1), defeat them (I^1), execute the wicked minister (U) and help their father in ruling the country (W^2).³⁶

Thus the move-wise functions of this tale are:

$$\begin{array}{l} \text{Move 1.} \\ A^9 B^5 C \uparrow D^3 E^3 \end{array} \left[\begin{array}{l} 1. D E K^4 F^2 \downarrow \\ 2. [A] B^3_4 C \uparrow D^5 E^5 F^3_4 \downarrow \\ 3. [A] B^3_4 C \uparrow D^9 E^9 F^8 \downarrow \\ 4. [A] B^3_4 C \uparrow D^8 E^8 K F W^1 \downarrow \end{array} \right] H^1 - I^1 U W^2$$

In another example of this type of move combination, the two characters or heroes during the course of the development of the tale and in the process of transference (G), part and travel in different directions. The subsequent moves, move along with the seeker hero not the parted one(s). Each new move has a parting and the separated individuals do not initiate individual moves. They form a group and a move, which is a part of the main move. All the moves are interwoven and well knit. There is intermingling and repeated reference to the main move featuring the parted ones. Though all the moves are positive, yet the main villainy which also is the initial villainy is liquidated at the end of the last move, after a struggle with the villain, and victory over him. Let us examine the tale:

[Move 1]

A king has four sons (@). He asks his sons by whose good fortune it was that he possessed such a large and powerful kingdom (e^1). The youngest son replies that it was because of his good fortune and not others (ζ^1). King gets angry and expels the youngest prince (A^9). When he is leaving the country his wife also accompanies him ($B^3 \uparrow$). They reach a place near the sea, are interrogated by the leader of a group of traders (D^2). The prince explains (E^2). With the traders he is allowed to sail in a ship (G^2).

[Move 2]

The ship in which the prince is travelling is wrecked (A^{10}). The prince and his wife are carried by waves to two different countries ($\uparrow <$). The wife reaches a walled deserted country. When she enters the country the trees, bushes, shrubs everything becomes green and flowers bloom. The king of that country is intrigued to see this. He ask her who she was but she does not speak. The king orders that she be treated as a respectable lady.

The prince reaches another country where he is interrogated by the royal gardener and then the king (D^2). He explains (E^2). The gardener's daughter and the princess are married to the prince (F^1). He attends the court and is happy ($K W^2$). The king's other sons-in-law are jealous of him. He is asked to accompany them on a hunting expedition, riding on a mad mare (M). He tames the mad mare, kills a tiger and cuts its tail, nose and ear (N). Leaving the dead animal in the jungle he returns. The wicked sons-in-law claim having killed the tiger (L). The prince produces the tail, ear and nose of the dead tiger thereby exposing them ($Ex Q$).

[Move 3]

The prince expresses a desire to see his father ($@$). He sails in a ship with his wife (β^1). The ship is wrecked and they are separated ($A^{10} <$). The wife reaches the country where his first wife had reached and the prince arrives at a different country. He is interrogated and employed by a merchant ($D^2 E^2 F^2 K$) marries the merchant's daughter (W^2).

[Move 4]

The prince desires to return to his father's country along with his wife. While on his way (β^1) the ship is wrecked (A^{10}). He and his wife are again separated ($<$). The wife reaches the country where the two previous wives had landed (G). The prince reaches an island, the residence of an ogre, who ate men and women (G). The ogre has a woman captive as his mistress. She interrogates the prince (D^2). He narrates his story (E^2). She hides him in a box and helps him get the

secret of the ogre's life (F^2). The prince kills the ogre and rescues the woman (K U).

The prince leaves and reaches the country where his three wives had landed (O). The king of that country proclaims reward to one who could make the three woman speak (M). The prince narrates his story and the women speak (N). He is recognized (Q) and married to this king's only daughter (W^2).

[Move 1]

The prince returns to his own country where his father the king has been imprisoned by an invader ($\downarrow$). He defeats the invader in a battle ($H^1 - I^1$), thereby releasing his father and brothers from the prison (k^{10}). He becomes the ruler and calls back all his wives (W^1).³⁹

The move-wise functions of this tale are thus:

Move 1. $\epsilon^1 \zeta^1 A^9 B^3 \uparrow D^2 E^2 G^2 \dots \dots \downarrow H^1 I^1 K^{10} W^1$

Move 2. $A^{10} \prec G D^2 E^2 F^1 K W^2 M N L Q E X$

Move 3. $\beta^1 A^{10} \prec D^2 E^2 F^2 K W^2$

Move 4. $\beta^1 A^{10} \prec D^2 E^2 F^2 K U O M N Q W^2$

The move combination of this tale can be figured as follows:

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

4. _____

Yet another type of interwoven move combination tales seems to be having the first move, more or less of independent nature. On comparison, there hardly seems any real morphological relation between the first move and the following moves, except that some sense of continuation is carried through in the tale by the action - reflection of the protagonist in the following or subsequent moves. By introducing an object magical or otherwise, the protagonist of the first move indirectly sets the task for the next move, which may or may not be carried over to the subsequent moves as well. This object becomes the

sought for object initiating another quest, another search, departure from home and another move. The protagonist of the first move is brought into the second move temporarily to indicate the sought for object, he is neither a dispatcher, nor a villain, nor a donor, nor hero. Structurally this first move can be termed as the initial move comparable to the function initial situation of the tale structure, as a whole.

All the subsequent moves of such tales are interwoven and get linked up with the main move. The villainy or lack of the main move which incidentally is different than the first move (second move), continues till the end of the tale as we will see in the following example:

[Move 1]

Rajahans, the king of the birds is told that a fowler is recklessly killing his birds (A⁵). Rajhans gives a call for help (B¹). A parrot and an owl are asked to do something to stop the massacre of birds. The parrot agrees (C), and leaves on his mission (↑). The parrot along with his follower birds encounter the fowler. The parrot allows himself to be ensnared. When after catching, the fowler is about to kill him, the parrot pleads that being a small bird his little flesh won't satisfy his needs. The parrot advises that if he made a beautiful cage and sell him, he would probably make good money. The fowler agrees. The parrot is sold to a king whose daughter wanted a speaking bird. The parrot speaks by quoting its price. The king is pleased and buys the gifted parrot (D E F), and orders the fowler not to kill any more birds (K¹). The parrot visits his king and reports the success of his mission. (↓)

[Move 2]

The bird becomes the favorite of the princess. He brings back from his country some magic flowers for the king. The king wants more of these flowers and makes an announcement (B¹). A trader's foolish scabs-head son decides to go in search of the magic flowers (C ↑). He meets a holy man (D), serves him (E), and the holy man cures him of his scabies (F [K]). The boy thus becomes handsome, returns (↓), and marries a princess (W²). He comes to be known as Gulal Shah.

[Move 3]

Gulal Shah goes for hunting (β^3), reaches a pond. A beautiful girl appears and kisses the prince. She gives away her name as Panjphool, the fairy princess, and narrates her love for him in his previous birth. Soon they recognize each other and return. Gulal Shah introduces her to the king and the princess. The princess wants the necklace which Panjphool is wearing. Panjphool does not want to part with it as it contains her life (γ^1). A quarrel ensues and finally she gives the necklace to the princess (δ^1). Panjphool disappears as expected (A^7). Disgusted, Gulal Shah again leaves in search of the magic flowers ($B^3 C \uparrow$). He is led into a fairy land and becomes heir to its throne (G). He also learns about Panjphool who was withdrawn by the king of the fairies by virtue of a charm. He learns the trick to revive her, follows the advice and Panjphool becomes her former self again (D E F). The king then turns Panjphool into a serpent. Gulal Shah kills the snake and throws it into the pond. Panjphool reappears (D E F). The king again turns Panjphool into a golden nail stuck in a boat. Gulal Shah with the help of a magic ring and a "jinn" identifies the nail and revives Panjphool (D E F K^7). They take enough gems and pearls and return rich and are married ($\downarrow W^2$).

[Move 4]

Gulal Shah tells Panjphool about the magic flowers (B). She gives him her necklace and asks him to remain in the room and show this necklace to the light (D^2). He does as advised (E^2), many identical necklaces appear (F^3). Panjphool dressed as a man goes to the fairy land and displays these necklaces before the fairies. Curious to see the owner of such beautiful necklaces, they come to see him. He tells them about the magic flowers. He marries the fairy princess and takes with him twelve thousand flowering trees and returns ($K^2 \downarrow$). Gulal Shah disguised as a beggar goes to meet the king (O). He is recognized (Q) and married to the king's daughter (W^2).³⁸

The move wise functions of this tale are:

Move 1. $A^5 B^1 C \uparrow D E F K \downarrow$

Move 2. $B^1 C \uparrow D E F K \downarrow W^2 \dots \downarrow O Q W^2$

Move 3. $\beta^3 \gamma^1 \delta^1 A^7 B^3 C \uparrow G D E F : K \downarrow W^2$

Move 4. $B D^2 E^2 F^3 K^2 \downarrow$

Before we examine the main features of these tales, it will be interesting to see these move combinations side by side:

Interwoven Move Combinations

Tale 1	$1. A^9 B^3 \uparrow D^2 E^2 G^2 \dots \dots \dots H^1 I^1 K^{10} W^1$ $2. A^{10} \swarrow \begin{matrix} G \dots \dots \dots G \dots \dots \dots G \dots \dots \dots \\ GD^2 E^2 F^1 K W M N L Q E X \\ \beta^1 A^{10} \dots \dots \dots \\ GD^2 E^2 F^2 K W^2 \end{matrix} \quad OMN Q W^2 \downarrow$ $3. \swarrow \begin{matrix} \beta^1 A^{10} \dots \dots \dots \\ GD^2 E^2 F^2 K W^2 \end{matrix}$ $4. \swarrow \begin{matrix} \beta^1 A^{10} \dots \dots \dots \\ GD^2 E^2 F^2 K U \dots \dots \dots \end{matrix}$
Pride Abased	$1. D^2 E^2 F^1$ $2. D^1 E^1 F^1$ $3. G D^2 E^2 F^2 K W^3$ $GOQ : W^6$
Tale 2	$1. A^9 B^5 C \uparrow D^3 E^3 \cdot 1. \quad D E K F^2 \downarrow$ $2. [A] B^3_4 C \uparrow D^5 E^5 F^3_4 \downarrow \quad K W \downarrow H^1 I^1 U W^2$ $3. [A] B^3_4 C \uparrow D^9 E^9 F^8 \downarrow$ $4. [A] B^3_4 C \uparrow D^8 E^8 K F \downarrow$
Four Wicked sons and Their Luck	
Tale 3	$1. A^5 B^1 C \uparrow D E F K \downarrow$ $2. B^1 C \uparrow D E F K \downarrow W^2 \dots \dots \dots \downarrow O Q W^2$ $3. \beta^3 \gamma^1 \delta^1 A^7 B^3 C \uparrow G D E F : K \downarrow W^2$ $4. B D^2 E^2 F^3 K^2 \downarrow$
The ship- wrecked Prince	
Tale 4	$1. A^5 B^1 C \uparrow D E F K \downarrow$ $2. B^1 C \uparrow D E F K \downarrow W^2 \dots \dots \dots \downarrow O Q W^2$ $3. \beta^3 \gamma^1 \delta^1 A^7 B^3 C \uparrow G D E F : K \downarrow W^2$ $4. B D^2 E^2 F^3 K^2 \downarrow$
Gulal Shah	

Based on the move combinations of these tales we find that :

1. All the moves are interwoven and cannot be separated in time and space.
2. There is a common initial villainy for all the moves and they all have a common ending, in the form of some suffix functions.
3. The forms of initial villainy of the first three tales is identical i.e., banishment (A⁹), and the heroes are victimized heroes.
4. There is a correspondence between the number of victimized heroes (treating the boys in the first tale as one entity--child) and the number of moves.

5.3. Embedded Move Combinations

Another type of move combination discernible in these narratives is the embedded interruptive moves type. Morphologically, the moves are by and large similar to the preceding move types, but the manner in which they are combined is different. Tales may have two or more moves, some of them direct moves and some interruptive type. The interruption in the main move may be caused by a fresh episode, which in most of the cases, culminates in the function of donor's test, and reestablishes the morphological structure of the tale. After the completion of such an episodic move, the main move may or may not be followed by another or a series of identical episodic moves, in the form of interruptive episodes. At the end of these interruption moves the tale finally rejoins its main move. This type resembles closely the type 5.2. Combination. However, the main difference is that in the type 5.2. all moves of a tale are interwoven, while as in this type, the moves follow one another both in time and narration order. However, the embedded moves have no relation with the ones that precede or follow them. These moves are introduced by way of D E F unit of the folktale structure. Such tales as is clear from the above discussion, can be very long. We have tales of this type having as many as six moves. This type of move combination can be figured as:

1. _____
2. _____
 - [2.1.] _____
 - [2.2.] _____

Before we examine the individual tales of this type, it would be interesting to point out some of the structural characteristics of such tale type:

1. Embedded tale types are essentially multimove tales.
2. Each move may show structural independence.
3. The embedded episodic moves may or may not have any structural relationship with the preceding or following move or moves.
4. The episodic moves may be identical, as far as morphological combinations are concerned.
5. In the overall tale structure of the Embedded Move Combination type tales, the embedded episodic moves function as D E F' unit of a tale. The functions D E F join together to form the donor's sphere of action -- the most important development in a tale, that helps in the liquidation of lack or villainy. In these tales, therefore, the narration of these episodes either by heroes in response to the donor's interrogation or test, or as a preparation of the magical agent by the donor result in the eventual liquidation of lack or villainy.

A tale of this type may have one main move and one embedded move as in the following example:

[Move 1]

A young man desires to master religious subjects (a). He leaves home (C B³) and goes to a deserted place to meditate (↑). When he thinks he has perfected himself, he travels to a city, goes into a house in search of food. The lady of the house calls him in and bids him to wait for her husband's return (D¹). The man waits (E²). When husband comes home, she feeds him, then the stranger, before she eats herself. The lady after making a bed for her husband, spreads a bed outside for the stranger to rest. Before going to bed she asks her husband to tell them a tale. The husband narrates the following tale:

[Move 1.1]

[There once lived a brahmin who for many years prayed to know something of the state of the departed (a B). One day while bathing at the river, his spirit left him (↑), and entered the body of an infant -

the child of a cobbler (G^1). He was brought up as a cobbler, learnt the skills, got married and had a family. Then suddenly he became aware of his high caste and abandoning everything he went to another country where the king had died. According to the popular custom this stranger was chosen the king by an elephant and a hawk ($F^6 K$). Some years passed when his cobbler wife got to know of his whereabouts and she joined him (W^3_6). Then after sometime, it somehow became known that he was a cobbler. The people were in great consternation, some fled the country, some burnt themselves. Disgusted at the indignation, the king also burnt himself and his spirit reoccupied the corpse of the Brahmin, and the Brahmin went to his home ($\downarrow$). "How quickly you have finished ablutions this morning", asked his wife. The Brahmin was surprised at this remark. He found that his wife did not look any older, nor had the place changed. About a week later came a beggar who said he had run away from a country, where a cobbler had become the king. The Brahmin gave him food but could not understand how all this happened in such a short time].

Having narrated the tale the husband of the lady explains how soul passes through various stages of existence according to a man's thoughts, words and deeds etc. Then the lady turns to the stranger, who was listening all along, and asks him if he wanted anything (D^1). He replies "only happiness", (E^2). She advises him to return to his parents and fulfill his duties as a son, a citizen etc. ($F^2 K \downarrow$).³⁹

The scheme of functions and the move combination of this tale is thus:

Move 1. $a B^3 C \uparrow D^1 E^1 \dots\dots\dots E^1 F^2 K \downarrow$

Move 1.1. $[a B \uparrow G^1 F^6 K W^3_6 \downarrow]$

As is clear, the interruptive episode in this tale is narrated by the donor, or her manifestation, in response to the hero's appeal for help (which again is not very explicit). The magical agent by way of this episodic narration, is indicated and by way of additional advice by the donor, it is transferred to the hero. At the end of this episodic move the tale picks up the threads of the main move -- the first move in this case.

The tales of this type can have as many as four or more moves. Let us look at the following example :

[Move 1]

A king and his chief minister have no sons (a^1). They go out hunting ($B^3 \uparrow$), meet a sage (D^2). Prostrating before him they narrate their troubles to him (E^2). The sage presents them two mangoes to be given to their respective wives for eating (F^1). They return ($\downarrow$) and do as told. After sometime both the wives bear sons (K^5).

[Move 2]

The prince and the chief minister's son become good friends (@). Once they go hunting together (B^3), reach a place where they see a fairy with a lion. The prince asks the minister's son to hold the lion (η^1). The minister's son obeys (θ^1), and the prince runs away with the fairy, leaving his friend behind to be devoured by the lion (A). When the lion awakes, he interrogates the minister's son, enquiring about the whereabouts of the fairy (D^1). The minister's son explains (E^2). Then the lion narrates to him the following tale:

[Move 2.1.]

[Once there lived three friends, a prince an expert in justice, a brahmin an expert in making dead alive, and a carpenter, an expert in making flying houses (@). Due to some reason the brahmin was banished from his country (A^9). The prince and the carpenter accompanied their friend ($B^3 \uparrow$). They wandered together in woods before the prince was lost and arrived at the house of a dangerous demon. A woman captive of the demon warned him of the danger to his life. She hid him in a box ($D^1 E^1$). Meanwhile she discovered the secret of demon's death and conveyed it to the prince (F^2). He destroyed the pillar containing the demon's soul (I^5). The prince and the beautiful woman lived happily hereafter ($K^{4_{10}} W^2$).

[Move 2.2.]

[Soon the beautiful woman's comb was carried by a crow, swallowed by a fish and reached a certain king (@). The king deputed a witch to find the owner of the comb and to bring her to him (ϵ^3). The witch found the woman (ζ^3). She won the favour of the woman, poisoned the prince (η^3), and the prince was killed ($\theta^3 A^{14}$). The princess lamented the death of her husband, kept his corpse in a box (B^7), and

left with the witch ($\uparrow$). She arrived in the king's palace, where the king proposed her marriage (A^{15}_{16}). She agreed but deferred the marriage for six months. One day she found her husband's old friends the brahmin and the carpenter, who asked her about the prince's whereabouts (D^2). She narrated her tragic story (E^2). The carpenter prepared a flying house out of sandalwood, got from the king for the princess, and the brahmin promised to restore the dead prince to life again (F^2). When the princess, the brahmin, the carpenter and the king's sister and sister-in-law were in the sandalwood house, the carpenter ordered it to fly to the dead demon's palace ($G^1 \downarrow$). Thus the princess was restored from captivity and the brahmin restored to life the dead prince (K^9_{10}). The prince and the princess were formally married, and so were the brahmin and the carpenter to the sister and sister-in-law of the king (W^2).

Having finished the story the lion allows the minister's son to go back home without harming him ($K F^2$). The minister's son returns ($\downarrow$).⁴⁰

The move wise functions of this tale are as follows:

Move 1. $a^1 B^3 \uparrow D^2 E^2 F^1 \downarrow K^5$

Move 2. $\beta^2 \eta^1 \theta^1 A D^1 E^2 \dots \dots K F^2 \downarrow$

Move 2.1. $[A^9 B^3 \uparrow A^{17} D^1 E^1 F^2 I^5 K^4_{10} W^2]$

Move 2.2. $[E^3 \zeta^3 \eta^3 \theta^3 A^{14} B^7 \uparrow A^{15}_{16} D^2 E^2 F^3 G^1 \downarrow K^9_{10} W^2]$

The move combination of this tale is as follows:

1. a _____ k

2. β -- A _____ E^2 $K F^2 \downarrow$ _____ .

2.1. [A _____ K]

2.2. [ϵ _____ A _____ K]

As is evident from the tale, it has a preliminary move, one main move and two episodic embedded moves. The episodic moves are identical. While the preliminary move is a - K type, the second and its embedded moves are all A - K type. These embedded moves are

introduced by way of Donor's function F, that is the transmission of the magical agent, which finally helps in the liquidation of villainy. Both structurally and thematically, the interruptive episodes are independent tale types and tales.

Then there are tales wherein the episodic interruptive moves are embedded into the main move by way of the hero's reaction to the donor's test. In response to the donor's interrogation or test, the hero by way of his reaction, narrates a tale, which convinces the donor of hero's proper action, and paves the way for receiving a magical agent. This type of episodic moves are what we would call negative type, although each episodic move has A - K (W) functions, yet it terminates with a negative note, and an invert caution, that the positive ending could turn into a negative one if caution was not taken. These tales may also have one or more embedded moves and occasionally a suffix move. The tales could be longer enough having as many as six moves or even more. Let us examine the following tale:

[Move 1]

A king has no son (@ a¹). He prays to Siva to grant him a child (B¹). Siva disguised as a mendicant interrogates him (D²). The king asks for a son (E²). The mendicant gives him four fruits to be given to his wife (F¹). Four sons are born to her (K⁷).

[Move 2]

The queen dies (β²), and the king re-marries. The stepmother plots against the princes and the sons are deputed to "serve country" (η¹ θ¹ [A⁹] B²). They go and guard the country by turns (↑). Once when the eldest son is on guard, he hears a Brahmin talk to his wife. The Brahmin forecasts the death of the king by a snake bite on the seventh day hence, When asked by his wife about any preventive measures to save the king, he says that if someone killed the snake and with the same sword smeared its warm blood on the king's toe, the king could be saved, (d⁷ E⁷ F²). The elder prince returns (↓) and guards the king's bedroom on the said day kills the snake (H¹ I¹), thereby saving king's life (K⁴).

[Move 3]

The queen having seen the prince with sword blames him with treachery and the king orders the princes to be executed (A¹³). The

orders are conveyed to the princes (B^4). At the time of execution one prince is allowed to speak (D^1) and he narrates the following tale (E^1):

[Move 3.1.]

[A poor merchant (a^5) went to a foreign land ($\uparrow$) and met two brothers quarreling over a dog (D^6), he bought the dog (E^6) and with the arrival of the dog, he became rich ($F^1 K^5$). After sometime, the merchant was forced by circumstances to sell the dog for Rs. fifteen hundred to another merchant ($D^{10} E^6 F^4$). One day the second merchant's house was burgled (A^2). The dog (F^9) led his master to the place where the burglars had hidden the booty (G^3), and recovered the treasure (K^7). The merchant was happy and returned the dog to the first owner ($\downarrow$) with fifteen hundred rupees reward (W^7). The first merchant thought that the dog had escaped and killed it (A^{14}). After seeing the note he repented].

Then the second prince tells another tale:

[Move 3.2.]

[A poor hunter was married to another hunter's daughter, who understood the language of the animals and birds (a^5). One day she heard a jackal speak of a floating corpse wearing a precious bracelet (d^7). She went to the river (E) and brought the bracelet (F). Next she heard a crow speak of a treasure under a tree (D). She went and dug out the treasure ($E F$). Again she heard a frog speak of a treasure underneath water (D). She dug it out and became rich ($E F K^6$). When she returned ($\downarrow$), her husband suspecting her to be a Rakshasi (demon), who might have killed his father as well, killed her (A^{14}). Soon he found his father alive and repented.].

The third brother narrates the following tale:

[Move 3.3.]

[A king with his pet hawk went for hunting ($\uparrow$). On the way he felt thirsty, and the water was brought to him from a nearby spring. When he was about to drink, his pet hawk spilled the cup of water (F^9). It

did it again and again, three times (F :). The king got angry, killed the hawk, and returned (A¹⁴ ↓). Later he discovered that the water the hawk spilled was poisonous because a dragon lived in the spring. The king repented.].

[Move 3 Continuation]

Then is the elder prince's turn to speak. He requests the king to ascertain the facts before he acted like the merchant, the hunter and the king who had to repent for their hasty deeds. He explains the incident that led to the order of their execution (E²). King ascertains the facts with the Brahmin and his wife as witnesses and revokes execution order (K F). They rule the country with care (W³).⁴¹

The move wise functions of this tale are as follows:

- Move 1. a¹ B¹ D² E² F¹ K⁷
- Move 2. β¹ η¹ θ¹ [A⁹] B² ↑ d⁷ E⁷ F² ↓ H¹ I¹ K⁴
- Move 3. A¹³ B⁴ D¹ E¹ K F W³
- Move 3.1. [(a⁵) D⁶ E⁶ F⁴ K⁶ D¹⁰ E F⁴ A F⁹ G³ K⁷ ↓ W⁷ A¹⁴]
- Move 3.2. [a⁵ d⁷ E F D E F D E F K⁶ ↓ A¹⁴]
- Move 3.3. [↑ F⁹ : A¹⁴ ↓]

The move combination of the above tale can be expressed as follows:

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
- 3.1. [_____]
- 3.2. [_____]
- 3.3. [_____]

The third move in this tale is the main move which is interrupted thrice, before the main villainy is liquidated. Besides, if we look at the functions of the last four moves i.e.,

the main move and the three episodic moves, we find that these moves are structurally identical, except that the main move ends positive and the interruptive moves have a negative note.

There is a trebling of D E F unit in the main move as well as in the episodic moves. The first move of this tale and the first move of the previous tale i.e., "True Friendship" are morphologically identical. Moreover if one takes the motif analysis into consideration, one finds that these two narratives have an identicalness in motifs as well. For example, the lack of an offspring is liquidated with the help of a donor— a sage, in the tale of "True Friendship", and by Siva (disguised as mendicant) in the present tale, "The Four Princes. The magical agents transferred to the donors in both these tales, too, are identical, e.g., the fruits. This motif seems to be very popular in Kashmiri tales. We find this motif occurring repeatedly both in the single move tales as well as the multimove tales of Kashmiri, besides the major epics, for example Ramayana.

So far we discussed tales with embedded move combinations having (i) one main move and one, or more embedded moves and, (ii) one or more preliminary moves, a main move and one, or more embedded moves. In both these types, at the end of the last embedded interruptive move the tale joins the main move and ends at the end of the main move. There however are Embedded Move Combinations with some exceptions in which, besides the preliminary move(s), the main move and the embedded moves, the tale may rejoin the main move, but continue beyond it with one or more moves that follow the main move directly, as we will see in the following example:

[Move 1]

A poor blind Brahmin couple depend on their only married son for subsistence (@), which he provides by begging. Tired of his wretched life (a^5), the young son goes out to try his luck ($B^3 C \uparrow$). He meets a merchant who after knowing his story takes pity on him ($D^2 E^2$), informs him of an available job for him (F^2), and leads him to the king (G^5). The Brahmin is appointed the Chief Priest of the royal temple (K^4).

[Move 2]

Worried about the disappearance of her husband (A^7), the Brahmin's wife goes in search of him ($B^3 C \uparrow$). She meets her husband in the temple. He is angry about her coming out of the house leaving his

parents alone (D¹). She explains (E¹). He gives her a piece of paper on which are written four maxims in the form of advice (F³). He bids her to sell it to the king for one lakh of rupees (G⁴). She sells these maxims to the heir apparent prince for one lakh of rupees (K⁶), and returns (↓).

[Move 3]

Having come to know of the deal (@), the king banishes the young prince (A⁹). He arrives in another country (B⁵ ↑), is offered food and rest by a stranger which he accepts. During the night he follows the first maxim [not to sleep and be alert] and discovers that his host is a robber, and intends to kill him. When the robber's daughter who is attending on him raises her sword to strike him (D⁸), he quickly holds the sword, saves himself and narrates the following story (E):

[Move 3.1.]

[A king's pet parrot (@) sought king's permission to go on a long leave (B ↑ D⁷). The king allowed him to go (E⁷). The parrot in gratitude presented him a cutting of a tree the fruit of which, if eaten, could make old people young (F¹). The king planted the cutting in his garden. Soon thereafter there were floods in the country. A serpent made home in the tree and injected its poison in the fruits (A¹²). The fruit was tested on a dog, that died. The king became angry and ordered killing of the parrot (A¹³). Next year when the floods receded with it vanished the poison. The fruits were tested again and they changed old into young. The king repented.].

[Move 3 Cont.]

By the time the prince finishes his story it is morning and he avoids being killed (F⁸). He is persuaded to stay for another night, in which the robber's daughter again attempts to kill him (D⁸), and he narrates another story (E):

[Move 3.2.]

[A poor merchant had a pet dog. When he was in dire need of money (a⁵) he went to the market and pawned his dog with another merchant

against some money ($B \uparrow D^{10} E^2 f^1 k^6$). The second merchant's house was burgled (A^3), but he recovered all his wealth with the help of the dog ($BC \uparrow F^9 G^3 K^7$). He was happy with the dog and returned him to his master, with a message tied to the dog waving the debt and a reward of some money ($\downarrow W^7$). The owner thought that the dog and the letter was a reminder for the debt. He killed the dog (A^{14}), and later repented].

[Move 3 Cont.]

Again by the time he finishes the story it is morning, thus he again avoids to be killed (E^8). The robber's daughter who is worried over her own future, decides to escape with him and shows him a way out of that place (F^2). Both escape ($K^{10} \downarrow$).

[Move 4]

The prince arrives in the country of his sister's husband disguised as a jogi (@). The king wants him to come to his palace and cure his wife (y). He refuses (δ). Instead the queen (his own sister) comes to him and is cured, but loses her pearl necklace. The king orders the jogi (prince in disguise) to be killed (A^{13}). The prince bribes some people escapes death (B^6), and leaves the country ($\uparrow$). He reaches another country unrecognized (O). The princess of this country is married daily and all her husbands die the first night of their stay with her. Nearly all the young men of that country have thus perished. Having been told this the prince replaces himself for a potter's son, who was being married to the princess that day (M). He is taken to the princess's chamber. During the night, alert as he is, he notices two dragons come out of the nostrils of the princess. He kills them and saves himself from death, and the princess of humiliation (N). Surprised the king enquires about him. He is recognized (Q). King offers him the princess in marriage and the throne (W^1). After sometime he returns to his country ($\downarrow$) Where he finds that his parents have become blind, puts his hands on their eyes and they regain sight (K^4). He is made the king (W^3).⁴²

The move wise functions of this tale thus are:

- Move 1. $a^5 B^3 C \uparrow D^2 E^2 F^2 G^3 K^4$
 Move 2. $A^7 B^3 C \uparrow D^1 E^1 F^3 G^4 K^6 \downarrow$
 Move 3. $A^9 B^5 \uparrow D^8 E^8 \dots EFD^8 \dots E^8 F^2 K^{10} \downarrow$
 Move 3.1. $[B \uparrow D E^7 F^1 A^{12}_{13}]$
 Move 3.2. $[a B \uparrow D^{10} E^2 F^1 K^6 A^3 BC \uparrow F^9 G^3 K^7 \downarrow W^7 A^{14}]$
 Move 4. $y \delta A^{13} B^6 \uparrow OMNQW^1 \downarrow K^4 W^3$

The move combination of this tale would thus be:

1. _____
 2. _____
 3. _____
 3.1. [_____]
 3.2. [_____]
 4. _____

This tale is a very good example of a combination of direct move type tales and the embedded types. While the first three moves follow each other directly, the third move is interrupted twice. Move 3.1. and 3.2. are embedded moves, followed directly by move 4. Before we attempt analyzing these tales it will be interesting to place their move combinations side by side.

Embedded Move Combinations

Tale 1.	1. $a B C \uparrow D E \dots \dots$	$E F K \downarrow$
Metem- psychosis	1.1. $[a B \uparrow G D E F K W \downarrow]$	
Tale 2.	1. $a^1 B^3 \uparrow D^2 E^2 F^1 \downarrow K^5$	
True	2. $\beta^3 \eta^1 \theta^1 A D^1 E^2 \dots \dots K F^2 \downarrow$	
Friend-	2.1. $[A^9 B^3 \uparrow A^{17} D^1 E^1 F^1 I^5 K^4_{10} W^2]$	
ship	2.2. $[\epsilon^3 \zeta^3 \eta^3 \theta^3 A^{14} B^7 \uparrow A^{15}_{16} D^2 E^2 F^3 G^1 K^9_{10} W^2]$	

Tale 3.	1. $a^1 B^1 D^2 E^2 F^1 K^7$
The Four	2. $\beta^2 \eta^1 \theta^1 [A^9] B^2 \uparrow d^7 E^7 F^2 H^1 I^1 K^4$
Princes	3. $A^{13} B^4 D^1 \dots \dots \dots EKFW^2$
	3.1. $[(a^5) \uparrow D^6 E^6 F^4 K^6 D^{10} EF(AF^9 GK^7 \downarrow W^7 A^{14})]$
	3.2. $[a^5 d^7 EFDEFDEF K^6 \downarrow A^{14}]$
	3.3. $[\uparrow F^9 F^9 F^9 \downarrow A^{14}]$
Tale 4.	1. $a^5 B^3 C \uparrow D^2 E^2 F^2 G^2 K^4$
A Lach of	2. $A^7 B^3 C \uparrow D^1 E^1 F^3 G^4 K^6 \downarrow$
Rupees	3. $A^9 B^5 \uparrow D^8 \_ \_ \_ E^8 FD^8 \_ \_ \_ E^8 F^2 K^{10} \downarrow$
for a Bit	3.1. $[B \uparrow D^7 E^7 F^1 A^{12}_{13}]$
of Advice	3.2. $[(a) B \uparrow D^{10} E^2 F^1 K^6 (A^3 B C \uparrow F^3 G^3 K^7 \downarrow W^7 A^{14})]$
	4. $y \delta A^{13} B^6 \uparrow OMNQW^1 \downarrow K^4 W^3$

The tales we analyzed in this section, obviously are two move, four - move and six - move tales. An interesting feature of these tale is the correspondence between the number of moves (interruptive or otherwise) and the number of persons/heroes that leave home in search of the object. The following table makes it clear.

Move - Hero Correspondence

Tale No.	Preliminary Moves	Main Move	Embedded Moves	Suffix Move	Number of Heroes	Total Number of Moves
1	-	1	1	-	$1+1=2$	2
2	1	1	2	-	$2+2=4$	4
3	2	1	3	-	$3+3=6$	6
4	2	1	2	1	$2+1+2+1=6$	6

The manner of introducing the interruptive episodes in these narratives is also patterned. These episodes are inducted in the tale :

- (i) by way of transfer of magical object (F)
tale 1 and 2.,
- (ii) by the hero's reaction to the Donor's test
i.e., Function E, tales 3 and 4.

Following the hero's reaction to the donor's interrogation, if the donor interrupts the main move, by narrating an episode, he is in reality transmitting the magical agent to the hero by indicating the same (Function F). If the hero, in response to the donor's interrogation, narrates the episodic move, it is by way of reaction to the donor's test (Function E). Another difference between the (i) and (ii) interruptive moves is the very nature and structure of the interruptive episodes itself. The interruptive episodes of the type (i) are A - K (W) positive type narratives, while as the type (ii) are A-K (W) negative type narratives. The A - K (W) negative type interruptive moves invariably end with a negative note (or a contrary result). In spite of the fact that in such narratives the initial lack or villainy is liquidated, in course of the development of the move, a new villainy occurs resulting in some kind of disequilibrium, and thus the continuation of villainy. This difference is also structurally governed by the fact that the hero narrates this episode as part of his reaction to the donor's test to impress upon the donor the fact that a hasty move on the part of the donor, could be wrong, negative and unfortunate, as illustrated in the interruptive episodes. The difference between these two types is also of do's and don'ts, the first type of interruptive episodes make it explicit, what should be done or what ought to be done, while as the type (ii) emphasizes what should not be done or what ought not to be done. The final outcome of both the types (i) and (ii) is the same i.e., the transfer of magical agent (Function F) in the form of an illustrative advice or example that directly or indirectly helps in the liquidation of the initial lack or villainy.

It is interesting to note the following patterns which emerge out of the above analysis besides the ones we discussed above:

- (1) The first move of these tales seems invariably the a-k and not A-K type.
- (2) An embedded tale may be a single move or a multimove one. In the Embedded Move Combination (i) type, the Embedded tales are all single move tales. In the (ii) type, we have both single move as well as multimove embedded tales. The 3.1. and 3.2. moves of third and fourth tales respectively, of this section split into two moves, the first of these embedded split moves being a - K and the second A - K.

- (3) The embedded tales/moves of the (ii) type do not have any explicit initial lack or villainy. However the lack is implied and therefore indicated in brackets. In the second split moves of the embedded tales (Move 3.1. and 3.2. respectively of the third and fourth tales), the villainy is implicit, like the villainy of the embedded moves of (i) type.
- (4) The heroes of the preliminary moves and the main move seem to be different persons and so are the heroes of the interruptive moves. However the hero of the move following the main move seems to be the same as that of the main move.

5.4. Simultaneous Move Combinations

This section consists of tales, in which a common move may just like the interwoven type tales split into a number of moves, according to the needs of the multiple dramatis personae. These moves may develop simultaneously and run parallel in time, and finally merge with the common or the main move. The presence of multiple heroes in this type of tales gives a logical justification for the moves. The heroes, in such narratives, decide to go in different directions, in search of some object or a quest, and part in the middle of a common move which however speaking structurally, qualifies, as the main move. This could be the first move, or the subsequent move in such cases, where the first move precedes the main move in the form of a prelude, or an initial situation, thus preparing the ground for the main move to develop. The heroes in such moves, usually part at some kind of a road - marker which finally serves as a disuniting element. In his scheme, Propp designates the parting at a road marker by the sign < (Leave taking at a road marker).⁴³ In such narratives the tale progresses along with both the heroes simultaneously and in both directions. In each direction there could be one, or more subsequent moves, yet at the end of the tale both the heroes meet at one point, and the narrative merges with the main move. However our present data on Kashmiri folktale suggests only one move in one direction and more than two in another, though the possibility of more moves in each direction cannot be ruled out, in other versions. Let us examine the following examples:

[Move 1]

A king has two sons (@). One day while the king and queen are watching some birds that had made a nest in their room, the queen seeks promise from the king that he would never have another wife, if she died (y^1). After sometime the queen actually dies (β^2). The king remarries (δ^1). The new queen jealous of her stepsons plots against them (η^1). The king submits to deception (θ), and orders the sons to be murdered (A^{13}). The princes condemned to death are secretly freed

(B⁶). They depart ($\uparrow$), and halt at a spring for rest. While the elder brother is sleeping the younger hears "Sodibr̄or" and "Bodibr̄or" talk about the magical qualities of the two magical birds, that perched on the nearby tree ["one who eats the flesh of the bird will become king and one who eats the flesh of the other bird becomes a wazir and will find seven jewels every morning under his bed"] (D). He kills both the magical birds (E) and the brothers eat them (F⁷). Both the brothers then ride on their horses and proceed (G²). Having gone a little distance the two brothers part (<). As the younger one retraces his steps to pick up his whip, that he had left near the spring, the elder brother reaches a country where he is chosen king by an elephant (K⁵ W³).

[Move 2]

The younger prince reaches the spring and when he bends down to pick up the whip a dragon emerges from the spring and bites him. The prince dies (A¹⁴). At that time a holy man comes that way to collect some water from the spring. He forces the dragon to suck back its poison and the prince is revived (F⁹ K²).

[Move 3]

The younger prince misses the way and comes across some robbers. The robbers persuade him to stay with them (η^8) which he does (θ^1). He is thrown into a dungeon (A¹⁵). The daughter of one of the robbers falls in love with him and gives him food in exchange for the seven jewels he finds daily under his bed (D¹⁰). The prince reciprocates her love (E²). She promises to help him out (F⁹). Both escape (K¹⁰). He sails on a ship.

[Move 4]

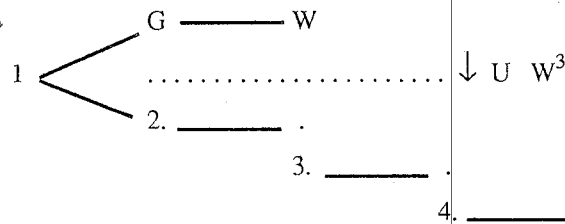
While on ship, the younger prince meets a merchant, who is fascinated with the beauty of his wife and naturally wants to get rid of him. He pushes him into the sea (A¹⁰). His wife saves him from drowning (KF¹). He reaches his brother's country unrecognised (O). Soon he is recognised (Q), the merchant hanged (U) and the king makes him his chief wazir (W⁴).

In course of years they discover that their father longed to see them.
Both the brothers return to their original land (↓) where the king has
punished his wicked wife (U) They become kings (W³).⁴⁴

The move wise functions of this tale thus are:

- Move 1. $y^1 \beta^2 \delta^1 \eta^1 \theta^1 A^{13} B^6 \uparrow D E F^{27} G^2 < G K^5 W^3$
 Move 2. $A^{14} F^9 K^2$
 Move 3. $\eta^1 \theta^1 A^{15} D^{10} E^2 F^9 K^{10}$
 Move 4. $A^{10} K F^1 O Q U W^4 \downarrow U W^3$

The move combination of this tale can be expressed as follows:



In this example, it is clear that the first move itself is the main move and the tale seems to split in the first move itself and the move following the elder prince comes to an abrupt end, when he becomes the king. The tale has three moves with the younger prince as hero.

There however are some tales in which the main move is preceded by a move as a prelude to the main move or as an initial move introducing the main move. This arrangement is more or less a combination of Direct Positive Moves discussed earlier (Section 5.1.1.) and the Simultaneous Moves. Let us see the following tale:

[Move 1]

A woodcutter has two sons Saiyid and Said (@). He is very poor, can't make both ends meet (a⁵). The whole family works hard and accumulates more wood for the winter. The wood is burnt by some needy travellers (D¹). The family does not stop burning of the wood accumulated by hard labour (E¹). When the fire is over and the travellers gone, they find silver coins in the ashes (F¹) and they no longer remain poor (K⁶).

[Move 2]

Saiyid and Said possess a magic bird which lays an egg (@). When they take the bird to a river for cleaning the cage (β^3), they keep the egg on a rock and the rock changes into silver. A merchant who is watching all this ($\epsilon \zeta$), approaches the woodcutter for the egg (η^1). The woodcutter sells the egg after some hesitation (θ). A *jogi* having seen the egg reveals the magic powers of the bird saying that "One who eats the heart will find a pile of gold coins every morning under his bed and will understand the language of the birds, and one who eats the breast becomes a king". Having known this, the merchant desires to have the bird, makes friendship with the woodcutter's wife and manages to get the bird killed and cooked for him ($\eta^1 \theta^1 A^2$). The stepmother bids the children not to eat the bird (y^1), yet Saiyid eats the head and Said the breast of the bird (δ^1). Fearing the anger of their stepmother the boys leave home ($B^9 \uparrow$), reach a place where they go in different directions ($<$).

[Move 3]

Said the younger brother reaches a city and seeks employment with a ship owner (@). He sails (β^1). The ship is wrecked (A^{10}). A sailor picks him up, questions him ($D^2 E^2$) and takes him to a wonderful land (G^2). He is selected the king of that country ($F^2 K^4 W^3$).

[Move 4]

Saiyid finds gold coins every morning under his bed and grows richer (@). He is attracted by a beautiful palace owned by a beautiful woman, who agrees to be his mistress if he paid a huge sum daily, or face death (y^2). Saiyid agrees (δ^2). The woman wondering at the unending treasure of Saiyid wants to know the secret. She keeps watch (ϵ^1) and discovers the secret (ζ^1). She makes Saiyid drink heavily, with the result he vomits the bird's head ($\eta^3 \theta^3$). She seizes it and expels Saiyid ($A^2 \circ$). Saiyid leaves ($\uparrow$), meets three men disputing over four magical agents - a magic chair, a magic dish, magical collyrium which makes anything where it is applied invisible, and a magic garment with four pockets each supplying money, gold, silver and precious stones to its owner. These men request Saiyid to divide equally their property among them (D^6). Saiyid agrees (E^6), and seizes the magical objects

(F⁸). Using the magic chair, he arrives at an isolated island, where these magical objects provide him everything (K³). Then he returns to the woman (↓).

[Move 5]

The woman pretending love makes enquiries about his fortune (ε¹) and he reveals the secret of his magical objects (ζ¹). She suggests bathing in the sea (η¹). Saiyid goes into the sea (θ). She seizes all the magical objects and flies (A²). Desperate, Saiyid runs here and there on the island. At that time three birds speak of the magical qualities of the bark of the tree they were perched on (d⁷). He follows the conversation, reacts quickly (E⁷), and makes the three balls (out of the tree bark), one of these could cure headache (F²₃). A big bird carries him to a famous city, where the king's daughter suffers from acute headache (G² O). The king proclaims half his kingdom and the princess in marriage, if someone could cure her (M). Saiyid cures the princess (N), is recognized (Q) and the wicked woman exposed and pardoned (Ex U neg). Saiyid becomes the king (W³).⁴⁵

After sometime both the brothers meet and rule their territories (↓ K⁴ W³)

Move 1. a⁵ D¹ E¹ F¹ K⁶

Move 2. β³ ε¹ ζ¹ η¹ θ¹ A² y¹ δ¹ B⁶ ↑ < ----- ↓ K⁴ W³

Move 3. β¹ A¹⁰ D² E² G² F² K⁴ W³

Move 4. y² δ² ε¹ ζ¹ η³ θ³ A²₉ ↑ D⁶ E⁶ F⁸ K³ ↓

Move 5. ε¹ ζ¹ η¹ θ¹ A² d⁷ E⁷ F²₃ G² O M N Q Ex U neg W³ ↓

The move combination of this tale is as follows:

1. _____.

2. _____ < 3. _____
4. _____
5. _____.

It would be appropriate to place function wise move combinations of these tales side by side in the following table, for further examination and comparison.

Simultaneous Move Combinations

		1. $G K^5 W^3$
<i>Tale 1.</i>	1. $y^1 \beta^2 \delta^1 \eta^1 \theta^1 A^{13} B^6 \uparrow DEF^2_7 G^2 < \dots \dots \dots UW^3$	
Two		2. $A^{14} F^9 K^2$
Brothers		3. $\eta^1 \theta^1 A^{15} D^{10} E^2 F^9 K^{10}$
		4. $A^{10} KF^1 OQU W^4 \downarrow$
<i>Tale 2.</i>	1. $a^5 D^1 E^1 F^1 K^6$	
Saiyid		3. $B^1 \wedge^{10} D^2 E^2 G^2 F^2 K^4 W^3$
and	2. $\beta^3 \epsilon^1 \zeta^1 \eta^1 \theta^1 A^2 y^1 \delta^1 B^6 \uparrow \dots \dots \dots \downarrow K^4 W^3$	
Said		4. $y^2 \delta^2 \epsilon^1 \zeta^1 \eta^3 \theta^3 A^2_9 \uparrow D^6 E^6 F^8 K^3 \downarrow$
		5. $\epsilon^1 \zeta^1 \eta^1 \theta^1 A^2 d^7 E^7 F^2_3 G^2 OMNQ Ex W^3 \downarrow$

Having examined the table, it is interesting to note the following :

- (1) Besides the common initial villainy of the main move that splits with the parting of the two heroes, the subsequent moves are caused by fresh villainies, that are liquidated at the end of the respective moves.
- (2) Function B i.e., Mediation is absent both in the preliminary and the subsequent moves. Only the splitting move or the main move has function B, which however is implied not explicit. In the absence of a dispatcher the heroes are not dispatched, they however are given an "opportunity for departure". This is the characteristic of a victimized hero.
- (3) The heroes of all the moves of these tales are victimized heroes.

Besides these common structural features these tales are similar at the motifeme level as well. The motif of the mystic bird with magical powers as evidenced in these tales is a world wide phenomenon.⁴⁶ Knowles seems to have been greatly influenced by the Solar mythology theory. While referring to the presence of this motif in *Zoological Mythology* (vol. ii. p.311) he remarks : "The golden egg" in some of these stories is supposed to represent the Sun which may be looked upon as a gleaming egg, laid every morning by the

brooding night, .. But the king ranking power attributed to the bird's eaten flesh remains a mystery" ⁴⁷

The Solar mythologists explained all Indo-European mythologies in terms of the conflict between Sunrise and Sunset, light and darkness, day and night. Angelo De Gubernatis, a Solar mythologist in his massive two volumes on *Zoological Mythology or the Legends of the Animals*, describes the actions of Aryan gods in animal disguises due to the violation of a taboo, or serving a term of punishment.

Similarly transporting inside a fish or on board a ship is an archaic motif common throughout the world, and a form of transference of the hero, function G of Propp's scheme.⁴⁸ "Passing through water is not only the beginning of a royal career, it is a precondition for accession to the throne", remarks Propp.⁴⁹ Citing examples of Moses, Cyrus, Oedipus, Pope, Gregory, Saint Andrew of Crete and others, Propp maintains that passing through water is an initiation rite and tales and myths reveal that children cast into the water become future leaders.

Notes and References

1. V. Propp: *Morphology of the Folktale*, p. 92.
2. See *Folk - Tales of Kashmir*, pp. 11 - 15 and 191-196.
3. *Morphology of the Folktale*, pp. 104-105. It is hard to name such move developments on the basis of their structural qualities. Propp did not name any such combinations, he, however, explained them figuratively. The names, therefore should be treated as labels; these in no manner, strictly speaking, reflect the exact structural qualities of various tale types. The procedure was adopted to facilitate the work – classificatory work and try to make a kind of distinction between various forms. See also *Morphology of the Folktale*, p. 92.
4. *Ibid.*
5. See the tale: "There Blind Men" in *Folk - Tales of Kashmir*, pp. 139 - 143. The tale belongs to AT type No. 1525.
6. *Morphology of the Folktale*, p. 48
7. See the tale: "The Jogi's Daughter" in *Folk - Tale of Kashmir*, pp. 442 - 448. The tale belongs to AT type Nos. 533, and 403.

8. See the tale: "The Strange Request", in *Folk - Tales of Kashmir*, pp. 227 -228.
9. Infidelity as a manifestation of Villainy initiating action by hero, seems to be a strong motif, specific to Kashmiri tales. Female infidelity is a villainy punishable by death alone. See also the tales: "The Young Gambling Merchant" and "The Day Thief and the Night Thief" in *Folk - Tales of Kashmir*, pp. 272 - 296 and 297 - 304.
10. Also compare the reverse branding act with the tale: "The Ivory City and its Fairy Princess", in *Folk - Tales of Kashmir*, pp. 211 - 226. "Branding" in both these tales helps recognize and expose the villain, not the hero.
11. See the tale: "The Crow Girl", in *Folk - Tales of Kashmir*, pp. 29 - 31. The tale belongs to AT type No. 707.
12. *Morphology of the Folktale*, p. 43. For more examples of prayer as a form of D E functions, see the tale numbers 1,2,24,37 and 63, in *Folk - Tales of Kashmir*.
13. See the tale: "Dharam Ya Karam", in *Folk - Tales of Kashmir*, pp. 326 - 330. This belongs to AT type No. 923 B.
14. See the tale: "The Robbers Robbed", in *Folk - Tales of Kashmir*, pp. 267 - 271. This is AT type 954, and 676.
15. See the tale: "The Seven - Legged Beast", in *Folk - Tales of Kashmir*, pp. 1-7. This is AT type No. 590.
16. *Morphology of the Folktale*, p. 111.
17. See the tale: "How The Princess Found Her Husband", in *Folk - Tales of Kashmir*, pp. 305 - 311. This is AT type No. 881.
18. See the tale: "The Ogress Queen", in *Folk - Tales of Kashmir*, pp. 42 - 56. This is AT type No. 462 and 302 A.
19. See the tale: "Ivory City and Its Fairy Princess", in *Folk - Tales of Kashmir*, pp. 211 - 226. This is AT type No. 516.
20. See the tale: "Hayaband and Zohra Khatoon", in *Folk - Tales of Kashmir*, pp. 177-185. This is AT type No. 674.
21. See the tale: "The Young Gambling Merchant", in *Folk - Tales of Kashmir*, pp. 272 - 296. This is AT type No. 910 D.

22. Abandoning the brides for reasons of testing their intelligence and managerial qualities - social, economic, domestic etc., is a favorite motif in Kashmiri narrative. Also compare the form of villainy of the second move of this tale with that of the tale of "Shabrang, Prince and Thief", in *Folk - Tales of Kashmir*, pp. 104 - 123, wherein the king deserts his wife and sets her the task of bearing a child.
23. See the tale: "The Wicked Stepmother", in *Folk - Tales of Kashmir*, pp. 127-129. This belongs to AT type No. 511.
24. See the tale: "The Clever Parrot", in *Folk - Tales of Kashmir*, pp. 312 - 320. This tale belongs to AT type No. 546.
25. See the tale: "The Prince who was Changed into a Ram", in *Folk - Tales of Kashmir*, pp. 65-74. This belongs to AT type No. 977. Breaking of a marriage agreement as a manifestation of Villainy, again is a peculiarity of Kashmiri narratives in general. For more example of this motif see the tale: "How The Princess Found Her Husband", in *Folk - Tales of Kashmir*, pp. 305 - 311.
26. For a detailed discussion, see Propp's *Morphology of the Folktale*, pp. 107 - 108.
27. See the tale: "The Charmed Ring," in *Folk - Tales of Kashmir*, pp. 20-28. The tale belongs to AT type No. 560.
28. See the tale: "Good King Hatam", in *Folk - Tales of Kashmir*, pp. 11 - 15.
29. See the tale: "The Goldsmith and His Friends, in *Folk- Tales of Kashmir*, pp. 57-60.
30. See the tale: "The Day Thief and the Night Thief", in *Folk - Tales of Kashmir*, pp. 297 - 304. The tale belongs to AT type No. 1525 N, 1525 D, and 1654.
31. See the tale: "Four Princes Turned into Stone", in *Folk-Tales of Kashmir*, pp. 191 -196. The motif of giving away worldly pleasures in favour of religious and spiritual pursuits is characteristic of Indian world view in general, and is widely reflected in folklore and oral tradition. The last function of this tale, and the tale "The Strange Request", discussed earlier in this chapter, is viewed as contrary to Propp's function "Wedding and accession to throne", and "monetary awards (W)", and thus *designated as W contrary*.
32. See the tale: "Unity is Strength", in *Folk-Tales of Kashmir*, pp. 250 - 252.

33. See the tale: "The Prayerful Faqir", in *Folk - Tales of Kashmir*, pp. 248-249. This tale belongs to AT type No. 750 A.
34. *Morphology of The Folktale*, p. 93.
35. See the tale: "Pride Abased", in *Folk - Tales of Kashmir*, pp. 154-165. The tale belongs to AT type No. 938.
36. See the tale: "Four Wicked Sons and Their Luck", in *Folk - Tales of Kashmir*, pp. 331 - 333. This tale belongs to AT type No. 923 B.
37. See the tale: "The Shipwrecked Prince", in *Folk - Tales of Kashmir*, pp. 355 - 392. This tale belongs to AT type No. 567 A, 923 B, and 302.
38. See the tale: "Gulal Shah", in *Folk - Tales of Kashmir*, pp. 449-483.
39. See the tale: "Metempsychosis", in *Folk - Tales of Kashmir*, pp. 16-19. The form of lack i.e., the lack or desire to master religious subjects as evidenced in this tale is special motif of Indian folklore particularly the Hindu folklore, and mythology.
40. See the tale: "True Friendship", in *Folk - Tales of Kashmir*, pp. 130-138. This belongs to AT type No. 516 B.
41. See the tale: "The Four Princess", in *Folk - Tales of Kashmir*, pp. 415-441. This belongs to AT type No. 178 B, 916, and 670 A.
42. See the tale: "A Lach of Rupees For A Bit of Advice", in *Folk - Tales of Kashmir*, pp. 32 - 41. This belongs to AT type No. 910 G,H, 916, 507 C, and 178.
43. *Morphology of the Folktale*, p. 93.
44. See the tale: "Two Brothers", in *Folk - Tales of Kashmir*, pp. 166 - 173. This belongs to AT type No. 567.
45. See the tale: "Saiyid and Said," in *Folk - Tales of Kashmir*, pp. 75 - 97. This belongs to AT type 566, 567 and 578.
46. See *Grimm's Household Stories*, p. 103 and 383. Also see *Wide Awake Stories*, p. 103 and 326, *Tibetan Tales*, pp. 464 - 467; Angelo De Gubernatis: *Zoological Mythology or the Legends of Animals*, 1872, p. 311.
47. J.H. Knowles: *Folk - Tales of Kashmir*, p. 169.

48. For more examples of this motif, see the tales: "Pride Abased", "Two Brothers", "Saiyid and Said", "The Wicked Queens", "The Wicked Stepmother" and their developments in *Folk - Tales of Kashmir*.
49. V. Propp: "Oedipus in the Light of Folklore", in Lowell Edmunds and Alan Dundes eds: *Oedipus: A Folklore Case book*, New York, 1984, p. 94■

Chapter VI

SIMPLE STRUCTURE : TASK - TASK RESOLVED (M-N) TYPE

6. Introduction

Unlike the previous two chapters, in which we examined the morphologically complex tales, this chapter presents simpler tales, which are classified as one structural type, i.e. *Task - Task Resolved* type or *Difficult Task and its Solution* M - N, (Propp's function No.25 and 26 respectively).¹ In Propp's linear structural scheme, these two functions are "tale's favorite elements", that mainly occur in a tale in the event of the unfounded claims of a false hero (Function 24), and help in recognizing the unrecognized hero and exposing the false hero. Propp, however, explains that these tasks "are also assigned outside the connections just described."²

Here in this chapter, we will examine the structure of a group of tales which begin with a particular task and end up with its accomplishment. This includes tales classified traditionally under various tale types, namely trickster, numskull, literal fool and other types.

The structural analysis of these thematically different types of tales, not only exhibits a structural similarity but also an identicalness in their patterns at the syntagmatic level. All the tales in this group begin with a definite task and an attempt is made to resolve that task with, or without the help of a donor. By task, we mean a test, a problem a riddle deciphering a social or cultural code, or a logical complexity that is posed to the hero by someone or arises of its own.

As for the character roles in these tales, they do seem to share some of the basic characteristics of the fairy tales or the complex tale types. For instance, these tales have a hero and donor figure, and their sphere of actions are, by and large, the same as in the narratives we have examined so far. However, unlike the fairy tale genre, these tale types do not have a villain nor the function Villainy (A). This, however, does not mean that these

sets of tales (or a kind of genre) do not yield to the morphological analysis. The fact is that these tales are morphologically as highly structured as the ones we analyzed earlier. The difference, however is that the morphology of these tales is much simpler, as opposed to the complex morphology of the fairy tale types. That in cross-cultural studies of oral narratives, on the basis of Propp's model, many scholars have altered the model to suit the narrative types, is something that does not need elaboration.³

Based on the nature of these tasks and the role-relationships, these tales can further be divided into three sub-groups:

- (i) Group one has tales, in which the task is proposed to the hero in the form of a challenge, a test, or a request. The hero resolves the task without the help of a donor. He depends on his own wits and intelligence, and in a sense, taking upon himself the task of a donor.
- (ii) Group two consists of tales in which the hero sets the task for himself. In other words, he decides to take up a task for himself without anybody requesting, proposing or ordering to do so. In such cases the hero usually turns out to be a trickster or the "clever thief", who decides to acquire something by trick and accomplishes the task with the help of a donor.
- (iii) The third group consists of tales mainly labelled as numskull tales. In these tales the numskull hero is posed a problem or a task, by a poser or tester for resolution. In the absence of a poser/tester, the hero however may create a task, real or imaginary for himself, and attempt to resolve the same. The task may or may not be resolved at the end of the tale. However, when resolved it is invariably with the help of a donor figure. It is important to note that in this group of tales, the donor serves as the mediator between the numskull hero and the task he attempts to resolve. In the absence of a mediator or mediating effort, the task remains unresolved. This, then is to a great extent closer to the Lack - Lack Liquidated type tales that we discussed earlier, in which the negative response of the hero to the donor's test results in the negative transference of the magical agent and also the negative liquidation or non-liquidation of the lack. This may also lead to a contrary result i.e. the punishment (F contrary).

Here again one has to make a distinction between the donor of group (ii) tales and the tales of group (iii). For instance, the donor of group (ii) tales does not voluntarily extend the help in the accomplishment of the task of the hero. He rather is tricked into being a donor by the protagonist. The agent is seized or stolen from him by trick. The donor of the group (iii) tales, on the other hand, either transfers the agent to the hero directly or points it out to him in good faith. Yet very often the hero fails to resolve the difficult task

because of his wrong reaction to the donor's help and in such cases the tales end up without resolving the difficult task.

6.1. Group (i): Tales of Justice

We have eight tales in this group. These tales suggest two main functions i.e. the Task (M) and the Task Resolved (N), and two character roles. The relationship between these two characters is that of a hero and a tester. The tester in these tales may be an individual, a group, a human or an animal or a bird. The tester poses the task to the hero, in the form of a problem, or a riddle, and the latter is expected to resolve the task or find a solution to the problem, or explain a phenomenon. A few selected examples of the tasks proposed in these tales are as follows:

- (1) settling crucial law suits in a judicious manner;
- (2) answering a riddle or a question;
- (3) solving a mystery or a social tangle etc.;
- (4) deciding the ownership of a colt whose parentage is not known;
- (5) discovering the honest and the dishonest;
- (6) explaining the logical oppositions between big and small or small and big. For example the natural phenomena of "small walnuts" growing on a "big tree", and "big pumpkins" on a "small creeper";
- (7) explaining the mystery of the young man having grey beard and the old man dark beard;
- (8) explaining the fundamental differences between the human and animal world and between the different species of the animal world and their social roles. For example, why a jackal cannot become the king;
- (9) solving a riddle etc.

A conspicuous feature of these tales, that differentiates these from the other Task-Task Resolved (M-N) tale types, is the absence of a Donor. The hero in these tales resolves the task by his own wit and wisdom, thus in a way taking upon himself the role of a donor. That tasks can be accomplished in oral narratives without a donor figure is a fact which is very nicely explained by Propp in his following remarks:

"One should also make mention of the fact that the hero often gets along without any helpers. He is his own helper, as it were. But if we had the opportunity to study attributes, it would be possible to show that in these instances the hero takes on not only the functions of the helper, but his attributes as well. One of the most important attributes of a helper is his prophetic wisdom: the prophetic horse, the prophetic wife, the wise lad etc. When a helper is absent from a tale, this quality is transferred to the hero. The result is the appearance of the prophetic hero".⁴

Like other tales of the M - N type these tales begin with a task and end up with the accomplishment of the task. The resolution of the task directly corresponds to the task proposed, as we will see in the forthcoming examples:

Example 1

One day a crow comes to the governor's *darbar* and makes noise. In spite of the attender's efforts, the crow does not move out of the *darbar* (M). Seeing this the governor sends a soldier with the crow to find out what was wrong with the crow. Following the crow, the soldier discovers a woodcutter cutting a tree on which lay the crow's eggs in a nest. The matter is reported to the governor who orders the woodcutter not to cut the tree (N).⁵

In this tale one sees that the hero is in fact posed with a double task that of discovering the task as well as solving it, and he accomplishes both.

Tasks are also proposed to the heroes in the form of call or request for help as we shall see in the following examples.

Example 2

Two men send their mares for grazing and two foals are born to them. Only one survives. Both the men claim the living foal. The dispute is brought before the governor (M). The governor orders the mares to be brought to the river bank and foal put into a boat and peddled out to the middle of the river. The real mother of the foal runs after it, thus is the parenthood of the foal decided and the foal handed over to the right owner (N).⁶

Example 3

A widow complains to the governor that her only son does not look after her in her old age, inspite of her pleas (M). The governor in vain tries to advise her son. Next he orders the boy to do hard work, pounding of rice etc., with a heavy skin of water tied to his belly, and orders his servants to whip the boy if he stopped working. In this manner, the boy soon gets tired and is unable to bear this hardship anymore. At that moment the governor explains to him how much his mother might have suffered carrying him inside her body for nine months. The son realizes his mistake and takes care of his mother (N).⁷

Example 4

A case of dishonesty is brought before the governor (M). A Muslim having borrowed money from a Pandit denies he ever borrowed the money and refuses to return the sum. The governor calls both men separately and asks them to cut off the nose of the other. The Pandit seeks forgiveness for his inability to do "such a mean job", and offers to withdraw his claim. The Muslim on the other hand takes the knife and hurries to cut off the Pandit's nose. Thus the governor discovers that he who can cut someone's nose without any provocation can easily speak a lie for some money. Thus the governor orders the Muslim to repay his loan with fine (N).⁸

The relationship between the two character roles in all these tales discussed so far is that of the governor and the governed or the hero and the tester. However, difficult tasks can also be proposed by friends in the form of a request, an enquiry or inquest to solve the mystery of an unnatural phenomena. Such tasks are resolved either by demonstration, or explanation, or both, as in the following tale:

Example 5

There are two friends. The older one has a dark beard and the younger one a grey beard. The younger friend seeks to know from his older friend the secret of his dark beard inspite of his age (M). Then the friend with the dark beard invites his younger friend to his home. His wife treats them well. After good food and rest they both go to the younger friend's home and discover that he has a very quarrelsome and nagging wife. She dispatches her husband's guest without even offering a glass of water for drinking. Thus the older friend tells him

that the secret of his dark beard is his happy home life and that his friend's beard is grey despite his age, because of the tensions at home. This way he solves the mystery of this unnatural phenomena (N).⁹

Tasks may also be posed in the form of mocking or questioning the reasoning or wisdom of the hero or his acts or a physical or social phenomenon. These tasks quite often pertain to the relevance or logic of certain natural, physical or social realities. The hero resolves the task by proving his wisdom, logic and the relevance of these phenomena by demonstrating the logistics, or in other words the "ifs" and "thens" of natural phenomena or social realities. For example consider the following tales:

Example 6

A man resting under a walnut tree, sees a pumpkin growing on a creeper closeby. He questions the wisdom of God and says, "O God, how foolish you are to give such a small nut to this big tree while younger plant is overborne by its immense fruit (M). At that time a walnut falls down on his head and startles him. Thus does he realize the wisdom of God, for if a pumpkin had fallen on his head from such height, he would have died."¹⁰

Example 7

Once jackals assemble for a meeting. An old jackal wants to know, why lions and tigers have a king and not jackals (M). The jackals decide to have a king who should guide them in counsel and lead them forth to a war. The old jackal because of his age and experience is selected to be their king. By way of distinction he is allowed his fur to be dyed blue and an old winnowing fan to be fastened round his neck.

One day while the jackal king along with his jackal subjects is walking around in the jungle, a tiger appears on the scene. All the jackals run away for their life, leaving their king alone. The jackal king tries to escape into a narrow cave, but his head gets stuck in the hole because of the winnowing fan around his neck. Seeing the jackal king trapped the tiger seizes him and drags him to his lair and ties him with a rope lest he may escape. However, after sometime the jackal king escapes and returns to his subjects who want him to rule over them again, but he refuses to be the king again (N).¹¹

A task proposed to the hero may as well be in the form of solving a riddle or answering a question, or curiosity as in the following example :

Example 8

A man from Shiraz comes to stay with a friend in Kashmir. To impress him the Kashmiri entertains his friend with lavish feasts every day. After every meal the man from Shiraz remarks that these feasts are "not as good as in Shiraz". The Kashmiri host is hurt, and tries to improve upon the hospitality by making it more lavish. Yet his friend has the same compliment for the food. The Kashmiri is intrigued by such remarks and decides to find out the reason (M). To satisfy his curiosity he goes to visit his friend at Shiraz. He is served a very simple meal: just some rice and curry. He is surprised and asks his friend the reason for his remark made earlier (M). The man from Shiraz explains that the Shirazi food is better than the Kashmiri food because it is very simple, non formal and good both for the stomach and the purse of the host (N).¹²

Like the two previous examples (Ex. 6 and 7) this tale also questions the hero's action or comments. Although in all the three examples it is the hero that sets the ground for the task, yet in this tale this action is very explicit as compared to the implicit actions presented in the earlier examples. The hero resolves the task by explaining with comparisons the implication of two types of foods thus answering the curiosity of his friend. This form of resolving the task is very close to the preceding two tales.

6.2. *Group (ii): The Trickster Type*

This group consists of tales that would thematically be labelled as the trickster tale types. Trickster tales are very popular throughout the world. Besides providing amusement, they serve as a reliable tool for imparting messages - social, cultural etc. On the popularity of this genre of folklore, Thompson remarks:

"We need not inquire too curiously as to why members of all countries and stations delight in the successful accomplishment of a swindle, but the terms of the transaction are clearly understood, a story of clever cheating receives a response."¹³

In some cultures, it seems, that there is an overlapping between the trickster and the numskull characters, and the tales in which they occur. This is evidenced by the fact that

while numskull tale types form an independent section of the Aarne - Thompson Tale Index (1200 - 1349 and 1675 - 1727), the trickster tales do not find a separate place in this important index. They are rather scattered in different sections, under different headings. For instance, one often finds trickster tale types in the section on Tales of Cleverness, or of Deceit, or Contests, or in Tales about Birds and Animals. Thompson apparently believed that, "The teller of popular tales does not always draw a sharp distinction between the fool and the cleverman. It is not unusual to find that the numskull has suddenly acquired wisdom so that he goes out on a successful career of cheating and deceiving."¹⁴ Thompson, however concedes that, "In one way or another large proportion of the most popular anecdote and jests are concerned with cleverness. Sometimes the interest is in the contrast between a clever and a foolish person, with the main interest in the latter. Sometimes the principal attention is given to the act of deception perpetrated by the clever man, and frequently enough, particularly in tales originating in the literature of the orient, the story - teller seems to be concerned most of all with the display of cleverness itself."¹⁵

However, on the whole the trickster tales, throughout the world tend to emphasize the extra cleverness or cunningness of the hero, rather than his stupidity. In this section, we will be discussing the tales that strictly belong to "trickster cycle." The distinction we are trying to make between a fool or a numskull character, and a character of the trickster tale is that a numskull character is a fool or stupid and the trickster character is quite opposed to this character, i.e., he is clever and tricky. The numskull hero and the tricked person in the trickster tale cannot be placed at the same level, as both belong to two different realms. By no standards is the tricked character of a trickster tale, a fool, noodle or stupid. He may not be as clever and tricky as the hero, but he belongs to the realm of the normal world of social behavior, understanding and intelligence.

The morphology of these tales falls under the Task - Task Resolved (M - N) category. These tales too have two character roles - the hero and the donor, the tested and the tester, the cleverer and the clever. The hero is usually an individual and a human, though the possibility of an animal or a bird playing a trickster hero, cannot be ruled out.¹⁶

These trickster heroes in Kashmiri folk narratives, come from different socio-economic backgrounds, with specific professions such as thief, goldsmith etc. Besides culturally prophetic tricksters who are identified by their social status, roles and professions, there are tricksters, either individuals or groups, whose status and profession remain unspecified in terms of their behavior, a trickster friend, for example.

In trickster tales, in the absence of a villain or a poser, the hero, more often than not, takes upon himself the task of theft or cheating and resolves the task, usually with the help of the donor— the victim of the trickery, who is tricked into donorship. We term the tricked

or the outwitted character a donor, because the task could not be accomplished without his cooperation, which however, is unwilling and involuntary. Therefore, the donor in such tales unwittingly helps the hero accomplish his job.

The tasks resolved in these tales also seem to correspond to the type of the hero his socio-cultural and economic background, such as thievery to the thief, cheating and cunningness to the goldsmith and cleverness and trickery to the clever and treacherous friend etc. Based on the present data, a few characteristics of the trickster hero and the tasks resolved by him in these tales are given below:

- (1) The trickster transforms himself in different guises (Mullah, Pathan, boat-man, ghost etc.) to steal money, jewels, textiles, garments, shoes, horses, food, etc., from the unsuspecting persons by deceit.
- (2) The trickster hero imposes himself upon the host, and grabs hospitality before it is offered to him.
- (3) The trickster pretends to misunderstand messages and deliberately misinterprets them to tease and cheat people.
- (4) When outwitted, the trickster, makes compromises and very soon indulges again in acts of deception and cheating.
- (5) The trickster, usually with the help of his accomplice, succeeds in extracting money from the relatives of the dead.
- (6) The trickster feigns sick or dead to frighten his accomplice and cheat him of his share of the loot.

The trickster hero, unlike the hero of the numskull tale, is very intelligent and cunning. He is paired with the people (the donors) who are normal or little above normal in intelligence. The donors in the trickster tales belong to the realm of the normal who are outwitted not because they lack intelligence but because the hero is more crafty than they are.

These stories are usually marked by a war of wits in which the trickster emerges victorious just like heroes do. Sometimes in the process, he may be outwitted temporarily, but the final victory is his, as we will see in the tales that follow:

Example 1

A Moqdam, the village chief, has a friend who is very tricky and cunning. The Moqdam wants to discourage him from coming to his

house, but true to the Kashmiri culture does not want to be rude to him (M). One day while leaving home in the evening he asks his wife to have her dinner and keep some food aside for him. And in case his friend drops in, she should tell him that her husband was not at home. And if he still stayed on, the wife is told to be very polite, but not to give any food. The friend as expected arrives. Trying to be very polite, the housewife tells him to come the next day as her husband was not at home, adding that had he been home, he would have killed a fowl for him to eat. The shameless cunning friend, offers to kill the fowl himself for her to cook. Despite her protests he picks up the finest fowl from her yard and kills it for cooking (N).

By the time the woman reluctantly finishes cooking, her husband arrives. After exchanging pleasantries with the friend, he goes to the kitchen to ask his wife, what she had done. She tells him everything. He then tells her to serve the guest a little quantity of the cooked fowl but in a copper bowl as a mark of respect and to serve him the major share in an earthen plate (M). The woman follows the instructions. However, when the food is served, the guest, sensing the trick, grabs the earthen plate meant for the house-owner, and offers him the copper plate protesting that he was after all a member of the family and that the Moqdam deserved more respect than himself (N).

Seeing the things going out of his control, the Moqdam glances at his wife and says to his friend that for the past few days a "dyav" (evil spirit) visits them around the same time and the lights go off (M). Taking the hint from her husband the woman switches off the lights. But the friend understands the trick and placing the plate in his left hand seizes the lampstand with the other hand and starts beating the Moqdam mercilessly. When the woman protests the friend says that he was beating the evil spirit as he was trying to steal the food from his plate. Having beaten the Moqdam mercilessly the friend runs out of the house with the plate and its contents (N).¹⁷

In terms of the morphology, the repetition looks as follows:

M-----N

M-----N

M-----N

Example 2

A goldsmith cheats people by selling brass in place of gold (M - N). A farmer's shrewd wife decides on retaliation (M) and sells a pot full of mud topped with ghee to the goldsmith (N). The goldsmith employs the woman and her husband as accomplices. He seeks the farmer's and his wife's help for extracting a large amount of money from the relatives of a dead merchant promising them a share (M). As per the plan the farmer speaks from the dead merchant's grave, accepting that he owed money to the goldsmith and that it should be paid back to him. When the goldsmith gets money, he returns home, leaving the farmer in the grave. However, when the accomplices go to his house to ask for their share, he pretends dead and they run away for fear of being suspects for the murder of the goldsmith (N).¹⁸

An examination of these tales shows that these are Task - Task Resolved (M - N) type of tales. Like the Lack - Lack liquidated (a-K) and Villainy - Villainy liquidated (A-K) moves of the multimove tales, discussed in the preceding chapter, the M - N functions of these tales are repeated several times, each time setting up a new task and its resolution. In the first example these functions are repeated three times and each time the trickster hero outwits the other party. In the second example, however, when the hero is outwitted, in his first move, he makes a compromise and soon after, again indulges in cheating and deception. At the end of the tale, however, he emerges victorious.

Sometimes the exploits of a particular trickster are given a cyclic shape, as we will see in the following examples:

Example 3

Sharaf the famous trickster visits a garden dressed in good style. He sees some children of the respectable parents wearing new shoes. He decides to steal their shoes (M). He goes to the boys and asks them to sit down. According to the custom the boys take their shoes off. Sharaf bids them not to do so for fear of Sharaf the famous thief [(M) is repeated in an inverted form]. The boys laugh at this, but remove their shoes. Sharaf disappears with the shoes (N).

Example 3.1

Sharaf disguised as Imam (a Muslim Priest) goes into a mosque, gives a call for prayer. Many peasants hearing the prayer call enter the

mosque. Sharaf seeing their pure woollen blankets, resolves to steal them (M). He asks them to deposit their blankets with him lest Sharaf thief may take them (M). The peasants believe him and he runs away with the blankets (N).

Example 3.2

Once a village weaver comes down to Srinagar city to sell some linen cloth. Sharaf sets his eye on the fine linen (M). He asks the weaver the price of the cloth. The weaver says "it is three rupees". Sharaf tries to bargain. The weaver swears by Prophet and God, and says that he bought it for only eight annas less. Sharaf gathers some dust together, giving it a shape, asks the man to consider it the very tomb of Muhammad and to swear again by putting his hands in the orthodox fashion upon the little heap. The weaver in all good faith does as asked. Sharaf throws some dust in his eyes and runs away with the linen cloth (N).

Example 3.3

Sharaf comes across a rich man wearing very expensive dress. He wants to possess these fine expensive clothes (M), relieves the man of his clothes by trick (N).

Example 3.4

While passing through a horse trader's house, Sharaf spots a very good breed horse. He admires the horse and desires to have it (M). Dressed as an honest gentleman he contacts the dealer and offers to buy at any price quoted by the dealer. Desires to test the horse by riding on it. The trader agrees. Sharaf runs off with the horse (N).

Example 3.5

Sharaf sees a Pandit walking on the river bank, wearing a new finely woven blanket. He wants to have it (M). Disguised as a boatman he offers to take the Pandit across the river. On reaching the other bank, by night, he offers him his boat to spend the night. Then he offers to bring food for the traveller, goes with his blanket, lest someone may rob him of it, and disappears (N).

Example 3.6

Sharaf seeing a weaver with a bundle of fine cloth for sale, desires to have it (M). He pretends sickness, gains the weaver's sympathy. Then he feign thirsty, the weaver goes to bring water for him leaving his bundle of fine cloth in Sharaf's "safe custody." Sharaf runs off with the bundle (N).

Example 3.7

Sharaf comes to know that a Pir was carrying gold hidden in his turban, and decides to acquire it (M). He befriends the Pir. When the Pir is resting, he takes away the turban and the gold (N).

Example 3.8

Sharaf watches a wealthy man in the mosque praying for more treasures, decides to rob him (M). Speaking in the Prophet's voice, he announces the location of the treasure, promising to help him if he arrived at the treasure site, at some fixed time with all his riches and of course implements to dig out the treasure. The man is happy, follows "Prophet's" orders. While at the treasure site following the Prophet's (Sharaf) instructions, he removes all clothes and money from his body and starts digging. Sharaf decamps with the booty (N).

Example 3.9

Sharaf is moved by the poverty of a family and decides to help them (M). He goes and stays with the Muslim priest in the mosque. In the night while the unsuspecting priest is fast asleep, Sharaf takes his horse, goes and robs the government treasury, returns and gives the money to the poor man (N). Then he also robs the Pir of his money (M - N).¹⁹

Having examined different episodes narrating various adventures of this single hero Sharaf, we find that the hero invariably sets the task for himself, sometimes even invertly announcing it (see example 3 and 3.7). The hero everytime disguises himself in a different form to resolve the task that he proposes to himself. These disguises are quite in conformity with his opponents and the situations he is confronted with. For instance Sharaf disguises as an Imam, Prophet, or Mullah while in mosque, as a boatman near a river, as a gentleman in a park, and so on.

It is interesting to note that similar anecdotes are narrated about some other trickster hero thieves in the same culture. Another such popular trickster hero is "Mahadev tsūr" (Mahadev the Thief). A series of his adventures (including the one in which, when challenged by the king, he steals the trousers from the body of the then king of Kashmir, Maharaja Hari Singh), are very popular among the Kashmiri folk.²⁰

Stories of clever thieves are very old and popular. In spite of the fact that these thieves deceived and cheated people, they have become a kind of culture-heroes and their exploits rather adventures are told to people for amusement and with great enthusiasm. Very often tales about such tricksters (thieves) are supplemented with some historical and geographical information about the hero to project him as a historical figure and his adventures as true stories. Knowles, while giving the period of history and details of Sharaf's background, his lineage, as he heard from the native informants introduces him in the following manner.

"One of the most celebrated of the thieves and robbers in those days was Sharaf tsur.... so cunning so daring and so successful was he that his name was seldom mentioned without trembling, whilst his character was supposed to be almost supernatural." ²¹

An important feature of this hero's adventures is that these are directed against the greedy merchants, crafty priests or those who have faith in such bad characters. These exploits of Sharaf like his other counterparts in Kashmiri culture, are marked by the victory of the poor over rich, weaker over stronger and above all have - nots over the haves. In the last episode of this tale cycle, one witnesses this trickster hero emerge as a Robin Hood to help the poor and needy. This transformation of the hero from a clever thief to a benevolent benefactor, seems to have contributed to the popularity of this tale and the specific tale form, and also gone a long way to make Sharaf a culture-hero, than a mere thief.

However this transformation towards benevolence does not seem to be the basic characteristic of all tale type of trickster heroes. The particular case being of the goldsmith and the 'troublesome friend' (an undefined category in terms of profession) in the tales that we just discussed. Although the social status and profession of the trickster hero "the troublesome friend" is not specified, yet it is interesting to note that he has been paired with a "Moqdam", the village chief, apparently a character of high social status. Goldsmiths in Indian culture in general, and Kashmiri in particular are conceived as cunning, deceitful and cheats. This notion is implicit in various genres of folklore – tales, proverbs, etc. There are numerous tales in Indian languages attributing tricks and cheating

to the goldsmith as a class irrespective of its social, economic, spatial status or family relations.²² The proverbs in these languages further corroborate this view.

Although trickster tales are narrated throughout the world and across cultures, yet the tasks proposed and the *modus operandus* of the heroes appear to be culture specific. Very often we find that a considerable number of identical tales describing the adventures of different tricksters are narrated in different geographical areas, sometimes making alterations to suit these to the social and cultural milieu of the people. An excellent example of this phenomenon is the tale of "The Master Thief" (AT tale type 1525). These tales also form a loosely knit cycle, attributing them to the different culture - heroes. There also is "A tendency for jests to become attached to some character who thereafter attracts into his orbit all kinds of jests, appropriate and inappropriate", explains Thompson.²³ This is true of all novellas - numskull tales, trickster tales and tales of justice etc. The popularity of the trickster tales lies in the hero's ambivalence and the fact that these tales exemplify situations in which the weak outwits the strong and the victory of a person of low or ordinary birth over the so-called wise, or high social, religious status; for instance the thief and the king. By pairing a thief or a person of low social status against an Imam, Mullah, King or Village Chief, these tales mediate between the low and high on the one hand, and the weak and strong on the other. The trickster hero violates all conventional morality, customs, practices, hierarchies and emerges a Saviour, mocking the follies of the establishment, be it social, religious or political.

6.3. *Group (iii): The Numskull Type*

In this section, we will examine tales known as numskull tales. Numskull tale is the "generic term for the absurdity, ignoramus, noodle and fool stories of the world, popular everywhere and occasionally overlapping with trickster-buffoon and anecdote."²⁴ However, as explained in the preceding section, unlike the numskull, the tricked in the trickster tales seems always representing the normal world, in terms of his actions, behavior and basic characteristics. That numskull and character of the trickster tale represent two opposing worlds leaves very little doubt about the different generic qualities of these two varieties of folktales. These tales indexed in Aarne - Thompson Type Index under number 1200 - 1349 and 1675 - 1724 respectively,²⁵ form an important part of the global oral tale repertoire and a significant genre of Indian folktales.

Following Propp, these tales seem to be Task - Task Resolved (M - N) type, structured on the basis of a set of five functions, which we will discuss in the following section. Out of these, three functions can be termed as central or core functions and the remaining two peripheral functions. The Central or core functions are those functions that form the

nucleus of the structure of such tales. These functions are the basic building blocks, and therefore are found in all numskull tales. Peripheral functions, on the other hand, as the name suggests are optional functions resembling suffix functions of a tale, as we have discussed in the preceding sections (Chapter 4). These peripheral functions in these tales always follow the central or the core functions and never precede them and therefore seem to be conditioned by the behavior of the central functions. These functions and their order of occurrence is as follows:

(i) *Central or Core Functions*

Function 1.	Task (M):	The numskull hero is posed a problem or a task, or confronts one accidentally.
Function 2.	Numskull hero's reaction (E) :	The numskull hero reacts by trying to resolve the task or solve the problem.
Function 3.	Contrary Result (F cont.N-) :	The hero fails to resolve the task or solve a problem (or to apply a rule/ code in an appropriate manner) thereby harming himself. ²⁶

(ii) *Peripheral or Optional Functions*

Function 4.	Mediation:	A mediator (a kind of a donor enters the scene and helps the hero solve/ resolve the problem/task).
Function 5.	Task Resolved: (N)	The task is resolved or the problem solved.

Let us explain these functions and their order of occurrence by the following examples:

Example 1

Ten villagers leave for the town. On their way they have to cross a stream. All of them jump in and swim across. On reaching the other side of the river they count themselves to check if everyone has crossed the stream safely. They find one missing (M). Each one of them counts and recounts others excluding himself. Finally the leader also counts and recounts, and is shocked to find the number not going beyond nine (E) convinced that one of them is washed away in the waters, they start wailing (F cont. N-) Meanwhile, a townsman

traveller happens to pass that way and finding these villagers wailing and weeping asks the cause of their grief. The villagers narrate the whole event. Without letting them notice the traveller counts them and finds them ten alright. He asks them to throw their caps down one by one for a final count (Mediation). They obey and with each cap thrown down, he counts "one - two ten" and recounts and shows them that they were ten and all living (N).²⁷

Example 2

One morning a peasant starts off for his work with ten chapatis, his day's food tied up in his loincloth. Having gone a little distance he feels hungry (M), and sits down to eat. He eats one, two, three chapatis, but is still hungry. Four, five, six, seven, eight chapatis are eaten (E), still he is hungry (F-). He rises up and starts walking and lamenting "what shall I do. I ought to have not eaten all these chapatis before completing my work. What will there be left for the rest of the day and yet my stomach is not full". Soonafter, hunger overcomes his argument and he sits down again to eat (E), finishes the last two chapatis and is happy. "Alas", says he, "what a fool I was not to have eaten these last two chapatis first of all. There would then have been eight in my loincloth for the rest of the day, now I shall perish from hunger." (F cont. N-)²⁸

Example 3

A merchant has a stupid son. At the time of his death, the merchant gives his son five pieces of advice – (1) walk out in the sunshine from your home to the shop, (2) let *pulao* be your daily food, (3) take unto yourself a fresh wife every week, (4) on wishing to drink wine go to the vat and drink it, (5) if you want to gamble then gamble with the experienced gambler (M). The son follows the advice literally, marries every week and leaves the woman on some pretext (E), and as a result of this extravaganza, he loses both his health and wealth (F cont.). At last a clever woman decides to teach him a lesson. She marries him (Mediation). Determined as she is, she does not give him any chance to leave her, catering to all his whims and wishes. She requests him to accompany her to her parent's house. When hungry he

is offered burnt leftover rice, and he eats it, and then she explains to him the real meaning of his father's advice. He gives up his bad old habits (N).²⁹

Most of the Indian numskull tales end up with the hero making a fool of himself by his own actions and behavior. Yet there are tales in which the contrary results are repulsed and the task resolved with the help of a mediator, as we have seen in the above examples. Therefore, tales that end up with positive results have all the five functions, mentioned above, performed usually by two main characters, i.e. the numskull hero and the mediator, representing two opposite realms. These characters are sometimes termed as "tale roles" in the language of structural analysis.³⁰

On the other hand, some numskull tales may have the first three functions i.e. Task (M), Reaction (E), and Contrary Result (F contrary N-), which are repeated several times for reasons of making the tale lengthier and its structure more apparent. Such tales usually conclude with Contrary Results (F cont), except in a few exceptions where the postponement of the mediation function leads finally to a positive result and resolvment of the task.

Another type of well known numskull tales represents a chain of independent tale episodes in cyclic form. The only link between various episodes in such cycles is the common numskull hero. Some of the best Indian examples of such tale cycles are: "Sheikh Chilli" or "Sheikh Chulia ke Kisse" (The stories of Sheik Chilli) in Hindi and Panjabi speaking regions, and "Paramanandiah Sisugalu" (Paramanandiah and his disciples) tale - cycle in the Southern States of India, namely, Andhra Pradesh, Karanataka, Tamil Nadu and Kerala. In the present data on Kashmiri tales, we have such cyclic episodes narrated in the tale of "Gagarwol and his Servant Ratun", "The Stupid Boy" and "The Stupid Peasant."³¹

As mentioned earlier, some numskull tales may have only the first three function and the task may remain unresolved at the end of the tale. These tales usually conclude with the contrary result. Let us examine a few examples:

Example 4

A man from village comes to the city to sell his cotton (M). As he walks through the bazaar, he notices the goldsmith putting gold ornaments into the fire and then selling them directly afterwards. He

thinks, "There must be some trick in this, I Will do the same, why should I wander all over the place to sell my cotton." So he goes to blacksmith's shop and throws all the bales of cotton into his small furnace and waits (E). The cotton is destroyed and he cries. (F cont. N-).³²

Example 5

A stupid peasant has heard the saying "Rupee comes to Rupees" (money makes money). He desires to make more money (M) goes to a money changer's shop, where he sees piles of silver and copper Rupee coins. He has a Rupee coin, which he throws in one of the bigger chunks of the wall saying "Come come Rupees to my Rupee" (E). The Rupee tumbles down inside the shop. The peasant searches for his Rupee and laments his loss. Then he is told that his Rupee went to the money changer's Rupees as they being more in number have greater power (F cont. N -).³³

Example 6

A peasant desires to have a horse, prays to God (M). At that time a Pathan riding on a mare arrives. His mare gives birth to a foal. The peasant is asked to carry it to the Pathan's house, as the foal could not walk (M). The peasant follows the Pathan carrying the foal on his shoulders (E). On the way he is so tired that he changes his mind and cries, "O God, I thank thee for answering my prayer, by giving me this foal. Just pardon me if I return it. I do not want a horse now." Thus saying he throws the foal on the ground killing it, and gets a good beating from the Pathan (F cont. N-) ³⁴

Example 7

A peasant goes to a Baniya to buy a Paisa worth of black pepper (M). The Baniya gives him about a handful to see. Thinking this was merely a bit to taste the peasant throws it into his capacious mouth (E), and then opening his sack says, "Rather bitter, but never mind, weigh me a Paisa worth quickly". The Baniya chases him away (F cont. N -).³⁵

A very good example of cyclic form of numskull tales, like the Sheikh Chilli Ke Kisse or Paramanandiah Sisigalu is evidenced in the tales of "Gagarwol and His Servant Ratun" in J.H. Knowles' *Folk-Tales of Kashmir*, the basic data for this study.³⁶ All the tales

concerning this numskull hero have the first three functions, and these end up with contrary results. No mediation takes place. Let us examine a few tales:

Example 8

One day Gagarwol laughs aloud as though he is specially glad about something. "Why do you laugh?", asks Ratun. "Because I have just made a hundred Rupees by cutting the paper, of these village accounts", replies he, meaning that he had falsified the account to that amount. "How easily earned", thinks Ratun, "I will do the same at the first opportunity" (M). Accordingly as soon as Gagarwal goes out for his work, Ratun seizes his master's accounts book and cuts it into pieces (E); Ofcourse he does not get money but the wrath of his master (F cont. N-).³⁷

Example 9

One day the Gagarwol is very angry with Ratun for cooking his rice so badly. He bids him to inform him the next time he prepared rice, so that he might show him how to cook it properly (M). Next day when Gagarwal goes to the government grannery for stock checking, Ratun kindles fire, cooks rice and waits till it boils. As instructed, when the rice is ready for straining he goes to call his master for help. Now, he does not go right upto him, rather, stands by a tree at a distance nodding his head to Gagarwol to come, but the latter does not notice him (E). Thus more than three hours pass before the master comes and asks Ratun the reason for his being there. Ratun explains. "Alas! Alas! by this time the rice will be already burnt as black coal", wails Gagarwol. And it was so (F cont. N -).³⁸

Example 10

One day Gagarwol goes to a grand feast accompanied by Ratun. During the feast, a servant of one of the guests says to his master, in the hearing of everybody, that a "bulbul" (nightingale) has alighted on the stem of a flower, by which he meant that a grain of rice had fallen on his master's beard. The master gets the message and brushes the rice off. Impressed by the servant's good manners, Gagarwol tells atun, "Look here Ratun Mind you, remember to say what that servant

said when a grain of rice falls on my beard" (M). "Alright", replies Ratun. Soon after Gagarwol is invited to another feast and takes the ever faithful Ratun with him. While eating, he purposely lets fall a grain of rice on his beard to see how Ratun reacts (M). 'O Sir' says Ratun, "that thing you spoke to me about, outside so and so's house the other day, is on you beard", (E). Whereupon all the guests laugh and Gagarwol feels let down and insulted (F cont. N -).³⁹

Other tales about Ratun's stupidity include his improper behavior, lack of appropriate application of the deductive or non-deductive rules of inference etc. Such tales present a chain or independent tale episode in a cyclic form. The only link between various episodes in such tale cycles is the common hero.

There is yet another type of numskull tale with the first three functions discussed above. These tales conclude with the negative or contrary result and the heroes fail to resolve the task. These three functions in such tales are repeated several times to make the tale lengthier and its structure apparent and emphasize the message of the tale. In spite of all kinds of mediation efforts the tale ends up with the negative result and leaves the hero as an incorrigible fool. Both the cyclic form tale that we discussed above and the one we are going to discuss have a common factor the common hero. The episodes of the cyclic form of tales discussed above are, in fact independent tales about the same hero, while the various episodes of this tale are linked together. There is a sense of continuation in these tales, by way of one folly leading to the other, or one advice or mediation effort giving rise to another folly and thus chain of unsuccessful attempts made by the hero to resolve the task. Consider the following tale for example:

Example 11

A poor widow has a stupid son. One day she sends him to the market to sell some cloth. She sets the minimum price of the cloth at four rupees (M). The boy goes to the market, is offered six rupees for the cloth, but he refuses to sell it for six saying that its price is four rupees only (E). The buyer gets angry thinking that the boy does not want to sell and rebukes the boy. He returns home without selling the cloth (F cont.).

Next day the mother sends him to the market with the advise that he should salute everybody to show respect and politeness (M). The stupid boy starts forth saluting everybody and everything that comes across, a sweeper, a horse, a number of donkeys (E). "Hey you fool what are you doing" says the donkey driver-in-charge, "Don't you

know that we say "fri fri" (F cont. [M]), where upon the boy starts saying "fri fri" to every person and everything (E). He come across a man who has just spread a snare for a bird to catch. Seeing him the boy shouts "fri fri" thereby frightening away the birds (E). The man gives him a nice beating (F cont.) saying, "you should say "lag lag" (get caught) in a very soft tone (M). Then the boy starts saying "lag lag", he comes across some thieves stealing fruit. When he says "lag lag" to them (E), they scold and manhandle him (F cont), and ask him to say "let go one and take the other" (M). So the boy does, when he comes across a funeral cortage (E). The mourners are angry, reprimand him and send him home (F cont N -).⁴⁰

This essentially is one tale in which the first three functions - Task, Reaction and Contrary Result are repeated a number of times. With each F contrary function a new task is set for the numskull hero. The hero gets beaten and insulted for the simple reason that he does not say appropriate things at the appropriated time to the appropriate beings.

Characters and their Actions

Numskull tales have two main "tale - roles" the numskull hero who always represents the non-normal world, and the mediator who represents the normal world. The numskull is posed a problem or confronts one, or is given a coded message, which he tries to follow, solve or decode. The mediator is the character or the entity that helps the hero solve the problem, resolve the task or decode a message or a symbol. The mediator mediates between the numskull and the normal world, between the problem and its solution, between the task and its resolution between a code and its message. In the absence of a mediator the problem or the task remains unresolved and the code misunderstood causing harm to the numskull hero.

The numskull characters in Indian tales represent non-urban groups of peasants, villagers and shepherds, who are shown in the tales as having less exposure to urban phenomena, to the technical superiority of the urban areas and their modernity. These heroes may also belong to different social or ethnic groups who, because of their particular ethnic affiliations, are looked down upon by the narrating community. In some tales, we come across individual characters from the normal society whose behavior is non- normal and who behave like numskulls despite the fact they they do not belong to either of the two categories mentioned above.

The mediator in numskull tales, as noted above, always represents the normal world. He is usually shown in tales as a person of ordinary means or of low social status, such as

a "stranger", "traveller", "petty thief" a female spouse or an elderly relative from the normal world. The mediator enters the numskull world temporarily, "illuminating" or correcting the non-normal behavior of the numskull individual or group, either by directly solving the problem for the numskull hero or by helping indirectly to solve his problem.

An interesting phenomenon in these tales is that through the normal/non-normal, wise/foolish, and ordinary/ extraordinary dichotomies a kind of role reversal is suggested by which a "wise man", or a leader of the numskull world, the person who holds the highest status in his own society, is equated to a person of ordinary or low status. "In this frame", writes Jason, "the man of low status symbolizes the lack of intelligence in the normal world and the wisdom in the numskull world. In contrast the leader symbolizes the folly in the numskull world and the wisdom in the normal world".⁴¹ This explains why the mediator, who represents the ordinary in the normal world, stands in opposition to the numskull hero, despite the hero's high status in the non- normal world.

The actions of the numskull characters can be classified as (a) those that imply lack of knowledge of basic attributes of objects or basic technology, or (b) actions which reveal that the performer lacks the ability to apply non-deductive rules of inference. Numskull characters in Indian tales are generally depicted as lacking knowledge about the basic attributes of objects, about basic technology, and about some elementary logical operations. All these attributes help maintain equilibrium in a normal human society. Once this equilibrium is disturbed by lack of knowledge, a non-normal world is created which is operated by non- normal humans, or numskulls. Similarly, in tales which show numskulls as having a little knowledge or awareness of the world around them, their behavior shows a lack of appropriate application of the deductive or non-deductive rules of inference. Deductive rules of certain activities or of decisions are misunderstood, misapplied, or applied in an inappropriate manner, in the wrong situation or context, thus bringing incorrect or reverse results which disturb the equilibrium and cause numskull situations, that sometimes have harmful results. Consider the following examples:

- (1) Cotton is thrown into fire in order to mould it into ornaments.
- (2) Numskulls fail at counting their own number.
- (3) Numskulls do not know what to say when, where and to whom.
- (4) Numskulls fail at decoding messages, symbols and follow them literally despite their cultural, contextual or situational connotation etc.
- (5) Numskulls lack sense of time, space, quantity quality, etc.

The Numskull World

Some questions that need to be answered before we attempt to decipher the meaning or message hidden in these tales are: what is meant by the "numskull world", where does it lie, and what makes it different from the normal world. Though the barriers between the normal and the numskull worlds are purely symbolic, they can nonetheless be discussed under the following three headings: (i) Spatial barriers, (ii) socio-ethnic barriers, and (iii) attitudinal or behavioral barriers.

(i) Spatial barriers

Spatial barriers between the numskull and the normal world are maintained in oral tales in a three dimensional manner: (1) Numskull settlements in European folklore are attributed to certain welldefined geographical locations such as Gotham in England, Chelm in Poland, Poshekhon in Russia, Schilda in Germany. In India, there are similar locations in various cultural regions, such Bhainswala in Haryana, Shikarpur in Punjab, Bhogav in Uttar Pradesh, Kattazham in Kerala, Baro in Bihar and Aaluur and Tippanamapatti in Tamil Nadu. (2) Numskull settlements with defined geographical locations with symbolic names such as "Tsotalhōm" in Kashmir, or 'Pedgav' in Maharashtra. (3) Anonymous numskull settlements symbolized by non-urban groups of "villagers", "peasants", "shepherds" etc, who are supposed to be less exposed to urban sophistication and modernity.

(ii) Socio-ethnic barriers

Numskull characters are always shown as belonging to a social or ethnic group different from the narrator's own. Urbanized social status and the technological advances projected symbolically through these social or ethnic groups always stand as barriers between the numskull and normal worlds. These barriers as is well known, can be seen in a variety of folklore forms, in addition to the numskull tale, such as jokes or ethnic slurs and the like; in such examples, however, these barriers are broken by the process of reciprocity.

(iii) Behavioral barriers

The attitudinal or behavioral state of the narrating society as well as the numskull hero also separate the so - called normal world into the numskull and normal realms. Tales in which the numskull population is not represented by geographical or socio- ethnic characteristics, numskull individuals are identified within the narrating society itself at the level of family relations. These relations are distributed between the numskull and non-numskull worlds on the basis of sex, age and the hierarchy these relationships communicate. Thus at the level of sex, we have a numskull spouse, most often a numskull husband. At the level of age, one often finds the stupid boy of normal parents. Similarly

at the level of kinship relations and attitudes, the numskullness of the son-in-law is very well known in Indian folktales.⁴² Despite the symbolic high social status and the central place of son-in-law in the Indian kinship system, the popularity of the stupid son-in-law tales in India across regional barriers, indicate the sensitive attitudes of both the son-in-law and the normal narrating society which seems to identify itself with the girl's parents.

Thus it seems that the numskull tales are highly structured and powerful carriers of messages. These tales are structurally designed to mediate or overcome the inherent contradictions in human societies, be these contradictions psychological or purely logical. A numskull tale teaches, in a most effective manner, simple but fundamental rules of non-deductive logic and its application. An important aspect of these tales is their power of communication. The element of humor generated by the violation of socially accepted norms, or the basic principles of the universe, and the consequences that follow, result in forming these tales. These tales on the one hand reaffirm the strength of these norms and principles, and on the other, generate humor both for entertainment and for the effective delivery of a message.

Notes and References

1. See. V. Propp: *Morphology of the Folktale*, pp. 60-62.
2. *Ibid*, p.60.
3. For details see A.J. Greimas: *Semantique Structural*, Paris, 1966 and "The Interpretation of Myth: Theory and Practice" in P. Maranda and E.K. Maranda ed. *Structural Analysis of Oral Tradition*, 1971. See also E.M. Meletinsky: *Structural Topological Study of Folktales* in P. Maranda ed. *Soviet Structural Folkloristics*, 1974; C. Bremond: "The Narrative Message" in *Communications*, Vol.4, 1964, and "Morphology of the French Folktale" in *Semiotica*, II, 1970. See also Alan Dundes: *The Morphology of North American Indian Folktales*, 1964; Heda Jason and D. Segal ed. *Patterns in Oral Literature*, 1977.
4. *Morphology of the Folktale*, pp. 82 - 83.
5. See the tale: "The Sagacious Governor" episode 1 in *Folk - tales of Kashmir*, p.254.
6. *Ibid* Episode 2, pp. 254 - 255.
7. *Ibid* Episode 3, pp. 255 - 256.

8. *Ibid* Episode 4, pp. 257.
9. See the tale: "The Black and the White Beards", in *Folk - Tales of Kashmir*, pp. 262 - 264.
10. See the tale: "The Male Content Cured" in *Folk - Tales of Kashmir*, p. 321.
11. See the tale : "The Jackal King", in *Folk - Tales of Kashmir*, pp. 260 - 261.
12. See the tale : "The Man From Shiraz", in *Folk - Tales of Kashmir*, pp. 101 - 103.
13. Stith Thompson: *The Folktale*, p.165.
14. *Ibid*, p. 196.
15. *Ibid*, p. 188 - 189.
16. Trickster tales throughout the world characterize humans, animals and birds as the tricksters. Infact, most of the tricksters in North American mythology are either animals or animal - human beings.
17. See the tale: "The Troublesome Friend" in *Folk - Tales of Kashmir*, pp. 124 - 126. This belongs to AT tale type No. 1544. Versions of this tale are widely popular in Scandinavia, Russia, Spain and Flanders. For comparison, also see the tale: "The Mincemeat Spirit", in Jawaharlal Handoo et al ed. *Folktales of India*, Chicago, 1987, pp. 191 - 193.
18. See the tale "The Cunning Goldsmith" in *Folk - Tales of Kashmir*, pp. 303 - 305. This belongs to AT tale type No. 1532.
19. See the tale "Sharaf The Thief" in *Folk - Tales of Kashmir*, pp. 338 - 352. This tale cycle is quite popular in Punjab and surrounding areas as "Ashrafiyon Ka Chor" (The thief who stole gold coins) and also as "Ashraf Chor" (Ashraf the thief). In Kashmir however the tale is popular as "Sharaf Tsu:r".
20. See also the tale: "Shabrang Prince and Thief" in *Folk - Tales of Kashmir*, pp. 104 - 123.
21. J.H. Knowles : *Folk - Tales of Kashmir*, p. 338.
22. See, for example, the tales: "The Unjust king and Wicked Goldsmith"; "Their Only Ruby", "How the Princess Found Her Husband" in *Folk - Tales of Kashmir*, pp. 229 -

232, 258 - 259 and 305 - 311, respectively. See and compare the Dravidian myth of *Silappadi-Karam*, popularly known as "Koovalan Story" in Tamil.

23. Stith Thompson : *The Folktale*, p.10.
24. Maria Leach ed. *The Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology and Legend*, p. 804.
25. Stith Thompson : *The Types of the Folktale*, second revision, 1961.
26. This function is very much like Propp's function F contrary, where the magical object is not transferred.
27. See the tale: "*The Stupid Peasant*"; in *Folk - Tales of Kashmir*, pp. 322 - 323. This belongs to AT tale type NO. 1287, and is very popular throughout India. In another version of this tale the traveller or "stranger" counts the numbers by striking with rod, the heads of the numskulls (peasants or villagers).
28. See the tale: "*The Stupid Peasant*" in *Folk - Tales of Kashmir*, pp. 322. This belongs to AT type No. 1295 and J 2213.3.
29. See the tale: "The Stupid Husband and the Clever Wife", in *Folk - Tales of Kashmir*, pp. 243 - 247. This belongs to AT tale type 910 Z and 915 A.
30. For details on "tale roles", see Heda Jason: "A Model for Narrative Structure in Oral Literature", in Heda Jason and Demitri Segal ed. *Patterns in Oral Literature*, pp. 99 - 140.
31. See *Folk - Tales of Kashmir*, pp. 393 - 396, 189 - 190 and 322 - 325 respectively.
32. See the tale: "The Stupid Peasant" in the *Folk - Tales of Kashmir*, p. 324.
33. *Ibid*, pp. 324 - 325.
34. *Ibid*, pp. 323 - 324.
35. *Ibid*, pp. 322. This belongs to AT tale type No. 1339 D And J 1742.3.
36. See *Folk - Tales of Kashmir*, pp. 393 - 396. Gagarwol is an overseer (the government officer), who has to go from village to village, collecting Maharaja's share of the revenue. He is almost everywhere attended by a servant Ratun, who is stupid. Different tales of Ratun's stupidity were collected by Knowles from different inform-

ants. However, he put them together at one place as "Gagarwol And His Servant Ratun".

37. *Ibid*, p. 394.

38. *Ibid*, p. 395 - 396.

39. *Ibid*, p. 394 - 395.

40. See the tale: "The Stupid Boy" in the *Folk - Tales of Kashmir*, pp. 189 - 190. This belongs to AT tale type No. 1696 and No.J 2461. This is quite popular in the plains of India, Bihar, U.P., Haryana, Madhya Pradesh, etc.

41. See Heda Jason: "Jewish - Near Eastern Numskull Tales An Attempt at Interpretation" in *Asian Folklore Studies*, Vol. 31/1, 1972, pp. 1 - 39.

42. Tales of Stupid son-in-law are very popular throughout India including Kashmir. For a discussion on stupid son-in-law tales see Laita Handoo: "Indian Numskull Tales: Form and Meaning" in *Asian Folklore Studies*, Vol. XLII - 2, 1983. pp. 253 - 262.

Chapter VII

CONCLUSION

Conclusion : I

The State of Jammu and Kashmir - the northern most State of the Indian Republic consists of three different geographical linguistic and cultural areas. Each area has a distinct ethnic and cultural identity. The Kashmiris (kə:ʃi:ri) live in the valley of Kashmir, the Dogras in the Jammu region, and the Ladakhis occupy the high mountainous ranges of Ladakh. The Valley of Kashmir (125 kms in length and 38 Kms in width approximately) surrounded by a high beautiful mountain range, has borders touching the plains of the mainland of India in the south, Pakistan in the west and Russia and China in the north and north west. This places the Valley in a Strategically important position. No wonder, the Valley has traditionally been an important place on the Central Asian trade routes and a central place for cultural links in the area.

The word Kashmiri stands both for the inhabitants of the Kashmir Valley and the language they speak. The land is known as Kashmir (Kəʃi:ri). The people of Kashmir belong to a branch of Aryan race who are believed to have migrated to northern parts of India and brought with them the language of the Indo Aryans. The Kashmiri language is affiliated to the Dardic group of the Indo-European language family.

Kashmiris (population 3,174,684 approximately [Census of India 1981]) mainly comprise of Muslims, Hindus, Sikhs and others. The main narrative data for my study has come from this multi- ethnic speech community who inspite of different religious faiths and other cultural traits, share the land, a common language and the core of Kashmir culture. In view of the history and the strategic geographical position of Kashmir Valley and the various cultural systems that surround its people, it is obvious that the processes of acculturation and identification must have played their roles in shaping the present culture of Kashmir. Such processes seem very neatly reflected in the folklore particularly the narrative literature of the people.

Kashmir has a very long, strong and unparalleled narrative tradition, both written and oral. The earliest work on Kashmiri folktale and perhaps, one of the oldest in the world, the *Brihat Katha* is believed to have been written as early as 700 - 400 B.C. The art of story - telling seems special to Kashmiri mind, and this tradition continues even now. Therefore, it was natural that the Kashmiri folktale should have received some attention from scholars. This distinct position of Kashmiri folktale in the overall genres of folklore should be treated as a special characteristics of the Kashmiri folk mind. However, except a few collections, there have virtually been no serious attempts at studying or analyzing this wonderful narrative tradition, historically, comparatively, psychologically or in terms of structural or pattern analysis.

The present study is based upon an excellent collection of tales by James Hinton Knowles, the *Folk - Tales of Kashmir*, published in 1893. The collection holds 96 excellent tales including a few versions that are traditionally classified as fairy tales, legends, animal tales, novellas etc. Knowles collected these tales from the native narrators representing almost all ethnic communities with different professional backgrounds. Besides being the largest single collection of Kashmiri folktales, the collection, undoubtedly is the most popular and representative one. The fact that most of these tales persist in oral tradition even now in the Valley and elsewhere proves the authenticity of the data chosen by Knowles. We have, therefore, as and when needed, supplemented our analysis with additional tales and variants from modern oral traditions.

The main focus of this study has been upon the structure particularly the "syntagmatic structure" of these tales. We have, therefore, not touched the meaning or context, which no doubt are as important and significant as the structure, and should, therefore, form independent studies. This study makes an attempt at delineating and describing the structural composition of these tales on the basis of V.J. Propp's model of the *Morphology of the Folktale*, in order to test the validity of the model and the method in cross - cultural and to some extent cross - generic conditions. Although Propp as is well known, developed his model for the Russian fairy tales (and perhaps, for the Indo - European *märchen*), the method however, has been applied to narratives other than the *märchen*. All tales in our data are not, strictly speaking, fairy tales in the Aarne-Thompson sense of classification. Yet these tales seem to exhibit some major structural similarities and yield to Propp's method. Therefore, we have included even such tales in the broader framework of our analysis and the tales have been classified into different structural types, irrespective of their generic or thematic similarities or dissimilarities. There however are some examples that do not share exactly identical structures and the morphological combinations as suggested by Propp. At the same time they are not entirely different or opposed to Propp's model. Therefore, these tales are grouped as a separate structural type in this study.

Our scheme of analysis divides the narrative data into three major structural types: (i) A-K (W) (Villainy - Villainy Liquidation) type tales, (ii) a - K (W) (Lack - Lack Liquidation) type tales and (iii) M - N (Difficult Task - Task Resolved) type tales.

According to Propp Villainy (A) and, or Lack (a) are the only obligatory functions for the development of the tale, as these functions provoke quest and action, which finally leads to the liquidation of Villainy or Lack. Recognizing the importance of these functions and their morphological roles, we prefer to call these functions (from Villainy (A), or Lack (a) to its liquidation (K) as the *core functions* of a tale. The other "preparatory part" functions such as Absentation (β), Interdiction (γ), Violation (δ), Reconnaissance (ϵ), Delivery (ζ), Trickery (η), complicity (θ) are called *prefix functions*. The functions that follow the core functions such as Pursuit- Rescue (Pr., Rs.), Unrecognized Arrival, (O) claims of a False Hero (L), Exposure (Ex.), Transfiguration (T), Punishment (U) and Wedding (W) are termed here as *suffix functions*. While the core functions are central and the only obligatory functions of a narrative, the prefix and suffix functions remain optional. Thus we have tales in this study with the minimum functions, i.e., the core functions; and we also have tales with or without the prefix, or suffix functions. We also have a number of examples in which both exist.

The main morphological distinction we could discover between the A - K (W) and the a - K (W) type tales is the total absence of the prefix functions in the latter type. The A-K (W) type tales, on the other hand, may or may not have the prefix functions. However, just as Propp rightly observed in respect of the Russian fairy tales, no move in the Kashmiri tales has all the seven prefix functions. There are A-K (W) type moves with five, four, three, two or zero prefix functions.

Except the function of Absentation, the functions generally seem to appear in pairs, that is Interdiction-Violation, Reconnaissance-Delivery, Trickery-Complicity etc. The exceptions are also rule - bound and show definite patterns. For instance, in the tales in which only one part of the pair is present, it is invariably the second part of the tale and never the first part. The presence of the function Violation of an Interdiction (δ) or Complicity (θ) in a move as a morphological unit, presupposes an Interdictions (γ) or Trickery (η) in the tale, overtly or covertly. Such instance of these paired functions appearing independently as parts however, are very rare.

Besides the total absence of the prefix functions in the a - K (W) type tales, the other discernible differences between the A-K (W) and a - K (W) type of tales are as follows:

- (i) The a-K (W) type tales have shorter and simpler morphology than the A - K (W) type tales.

- (ii) There are comparatively less repetitions in a - K (W) type tales than the A - K (W) type.
- (iii) Conforming to the logistics of insufficiency or lack, followed by the absence of a Villain, the a-K (W) type tales do not have the suffix functions Struggle - Victory (H - I), Punishment (U) and Pursuit - Rescue (Pr.-Rs.), etc.
- (iv) The A - K (W) type tales develop through : (i) D E F (Donor's Test, Hero's Reaction and Transference of the Magical Agent) alone; or (ii) through D E F and H - I (Struggle - Victory); or (iii) D E F and M - N (Task - Task Resolved), or (iv) through D E F and Pr. Rs. (Pursuit Rescue). The a - K (W) type tales generally develop only through D E F set of functions. We however find a single example of the a - K (W) type tale developing through D E F and M - N and U functions (see section 4.2.1.).

Another classification we followed in this study is based on the number of moves (*xod*) : (i) Single Move Tales, and (ii) Multimove Tales. *Any development from Lack (a) or Villainy (A) to its Liquidation (K) is construed as a move*; and a fresh Villainy may give rise to a fresh move, and a multimove tale. Multimove tales are those tales which have more than one move. The number of moves of a tale is determined and governed by several factors such as: (i) the number of times the villainous act is realized (ii) the number of heroes, (iii) the number of victims of a single villainous act, and (iv) a continued sense of Lack or Villainy leading to a new quest and a new move. All these moves of a tale may be of A - K (W) type or a combination of A-K (W) and a - K (W) types. However, when combined, the a - K (W) is the first, and never the subsequent move. There is no evidence of the a - K (W) type move being repeated in the same tale except in the form of an Embedded Move Combination tale (see Section 5.3 tale Nos. 3 and 4) in which thematically and structurally identical stories are embedded in an attempt to make the tale longer and meaningful and also to emphasize the structure and the message. Here again if the embedded form is a Multimove tale, the first move of such a tale is the a - K (W) type followed by A - K (W) type of move or moves.

All the moves of a tale may be positive moves, or one positive move followed, or preceded by one or more negative moves. A move is Positive, if at the end of the move the Lack or Villainy is Liquidated (Function K). If as a consequent result of D E F neg. (non transference of the magical agent) or F Contrary function, the Lack/ Villainy remains unliquidated the move then is Negative. The Positive - Negative Move Combination (Section 5.1.2.2) tales have the first move as Positive, followed by one or more Negative moves. The Negative - Positive Move Combination (Section 5.1.2.1) tales, may stretch longer with one or more Negative moves, which are repeated before a Positive move sets in. However, in both these combinations of Positive - Negative and Negative - Positive

Move Combination tales, only one Positive move seems to occur, the negative moves may be more than one (See section 5.1.2).

The moves of a tale combine in various ways affecting the structural frame of a narrative. Based on the linear narrative structure of these moves, their combinations and their repercussion on the tale as a whole, Kashmiri tales are broadly classified as (i) Direct Move Combinations, (ii) Interwoven Move Combinations, (iii) Embedded Move Combinations, and (iv) Simultaneous Move Combinations.

All the moves of a multimove tale, irrespective of the type [a-K (W)] or A - K (W)] develop through D E F set of functions. Functions, Struggle and Victory (H - I) may occur in the first move, if it is A - K (W) type, but Pursuit - Rescue (Pr.- Rs.) Unrecognized arrival (O), Claims of a False hero (L), Difficult task (M) Solution (resolution) of a task (N), Recognition of the hero (Q), exposure of the false hero (Ex) and Punishment (U) are essentially the morphological features of the second or subsequent move (See chapter 5).

Repetitions of functions in terms of trebling or otherwise is a phenomenon occurring both in Single Move as well as the Multimove tales. The functions most often repeated are A (Villainy) and D E F (Donor's test, Hero's Reaction and Acquisition of a magical agent/helper) set.

The last morphological element of Propp's model Function XXXI (Wedding and accession to the throne), does not seem to be as important morphological element of Kashmiri tales as the Russian tales he studied. Kashmiri tales which begin with lack of a bride or spouse end with the liquidation of the Lack or the Villainy and the return of the hero. In such tales the function W occurs, but it cannot be given the same morphological value as one notices in the general Russian tale structure. Reasons are obvious. The concept of a family in India and in Russia are not the same. Home coming, therefore, appears to be the most important function of the Kashmiri tales, Wedding being optional. In some tales the motif of world worthliness and renouncement of the physical and material pleasures of the world, in tune with the Indian spiritual thinking, becomes more prominent. Giving up worldly pleasures, wealth, wife, throne, etc., and becoming a recluse, a *Sanyasi* etc. is a typical feature of Kashmiri tales (Sections 5.1.1.1.1. and 5.1.2.1). This obviously reflects the cultural background, religious philosophy and the worldview of the Indians in general and Kashmiris in particular.

Kashmiri tales have seven tale roles: (i) hero, (ii) villain, (iii) donor, (iv) helper, (v) sought for person, (vi) dispatcher and (vii) the false hero. All the tale roles need not be present in every tale. Furthermore, characters of the tale may be humans, nonhumans, or super humans, male or female. The status or role of a character or a *dramatis personae* is

determined by his or her actions and their implications for the development of a tale as a whole, rather than the social or kinship relations of the character per se. Just like the function of a tale is determined by the preceding and the following function, the tale roles too are determined in relation to each other and to the structure of the tale as a whole. Therefore, quite often, we notice characters changing roles in different moves of a tale. For instance the Seeker Hero of the first or preceding move may change into a Victimized Hero in the second or subsequent move, or vice versa. Similarly, we have one example in which a Donor of a previous move changes into a Villain in the subsequent move (Section 5.1.1.1.2). Though the spheres of action of a Donor and a Helper are well defined in terms of morphology and the structure, yet sometimes they seem to overlap and the functions are assimilated. The Donor of a previous move turning into a Helper, or taking upon itself the role of a Hero in the subsequent moves is not uncommon. For instance, if the hero acquires three magical helpers in the first move and if he does not make use of all the three helpers in the same move, it is likely that these magical helpers or Donors, in course of the developments of the tale, take upon themselves the job of the Hero in the subsequent moves and go in search of the sought for person or object. These donor figures liquidate the subsequent villainy or villainies (see section 5.1.1.3). In Kashmiri folktales, generally the Hero and Villain do not change roles in different moves, yet there is an exception in the tale of "The Young Gambling Merchant" (section 5.1.1.1.2). However, we do not find any instance of a villain turning into a Donor in the different moves of a tale.

Propp in his *Morphology of the Folktale* describes as many as nineteen forms or "allomotifs" of the function Villainy (A). Kashmiri tales share almost all the allomotifs with the exception of A⁴ (theft of daylight) and A^{xvii} (the threat of cannibalism). The villain making a threat of cannibalism among his relatives is absent in the Kashmiri tales. There are no instances of cannibal sisters or mothers. These tales however, exhibit some other forms of villainy peculiar to the Indian tales in general and Kashmiri in particular. In addition to what Propp's model specifies, the other manifestations of villainy that are specific to Kashmiri tales are as follows:

- (1) *Infidelity or adultery as a form of villainy.* Infidelity of woman is construed as Villainy and punishable. The punishment is death. (See section 5.1.1.1.1., 5.1.1.1.2 and 5.1.2.1.).
- (2) *Villain causing sickness or an incurable disease.* Sickness is attributed to the presence of a Villain and disappears with the liquidation or death of the Villain. This is different from "Maiming and mutilation" (A⁶) of Propp's model (See sections 4.1.2.1. and 5.1.1.1.2.).

- (3) *Breaking of a contract (a marriage proposal)* as a form of villainy (5.1.1.1.2 and 5.1.1.3.).

The liquidation of villainy usually corresponds with the form of villainy. However, a very important characteristic feature of Kashmiri tales is that the villainous blood relations are never punished. Kashmiris with a highly patriarchal social system make a clear distinction between "zām i ty" and "ām i ty" kins. "Zām i ty" are the kins born in the family and "ām i ty" are those who have come into the family by marriage. Mothers and Wives fall into the latter category and are treated as such. A "wife" is an outsider in the family till she becomes mother, and a mother though highly respected continues to be "ām i ts" (having come). This distinction is very clearly reflected, besides other genres of folklore, in Kashmiri folktales even at the structural level. Therefore, in these tales, no matter how cruel and wicked they might be villainous fathers or siblings are never punished. The villainous stepmother may, or may not be punished (See section 5.1.1.1.2). Virginity, chastity and faithfulness being the most valued qualities of a woman in Kashmiri culture, an adulterous wife or an infidel woman are invariably punished by death (See sections 5.1.1.1.1 and 5.1.1.1.2).

Similarly the forms of Lack or insufficiency exhibited in these tales are varied and peculiar to the culture. For example the Lack is not always materialistic. The motif of childless couples praying for offspring is widespread in Indian folklore. Conforming to the patriarchal systems, Kashmiri culture exhibits a very strong desire for a male progeny, a son, which is very clearly and widely reflected in the tales as well, both Single Move tales and Multimove tales. Besides the lack of a child, the other forms of Lack that are available in these tales are the lack of a spouse, of happiness, of knowledge of any kind be it worldly affairs, social, religious or spiritual, or after death phenomena. The "Tale of Metempsychosis" exhibits the lack of religio-spiritual knowledge and that of the netherworlds etc. This type of Lack is liquidated both by demonstration, or by religious discourse corresponding to the nature of the Lack itself (See section 5.3.).

Donor figures in Kashmiri tales are: (i) human, both male and female, (ii) non-human, animals, birds, reptiles etc. (iii) superhuman, gods, saints, faqirs, jogis and sometimes the Brahmin. The Introduction of the D E F elements are same as described by Propp, for Russian fairy tales. However Prayer as a form of Hero's reaction in Hero - Donor relationship is quite widespread in Kashmiri tales. Prayer as a form of D E element results in Hero getting a magical agent for use in his/ her struggle with the villain or in direct liquidation of the Lack. Propp also mentions one such instance in his Russian data (Propp: 1973, 43).

Yet another distinct feature of Kashmiri tales is the reverse Branding of the villain. In Propp's scheme the Hero is branded or marked (Function XVII, J), in order to help his recognition and the exposure of the false hero. In Kashmiri tales, however, we find the villain being branded for exposure at a later stage (see sections 5.1.1.1.1. and 5.1.1.1.2.). A strange coincidence in both these tales is that the villains branded or marked are female characters – an infidel wife, and a treacherous princess respectively. While the former is condemned to death, the latter escapes punishment by death because the form of villainy is different (See section 5.1.1.1.2.).

II

The non-fairy tales (see chapter VI) like novellas etc., seem to have a simpler morphological structure, than the fairy tales. These tales are comparatively shorter and classified as one structural type, i.e., Task and Task Resolved (M - N) type. Traditionally classified as "Numskull" and "Literal Fool", "Trickster Tales" and "Tales of Justice", etc., these thematically different tales exhibit a structural similarity at the syntagmatic level. These tales begin with a particular task, that is undertaken, or is assigned by someone, and end with the task being accomplished by the Hero, with or without outside help. The tasks thus posed and resolved may be in the form of a test, a problem, a puzzle, a riddle, a socio-cultural code, or an explanation of the logical complexity of a given phenomena etc.

Besides the structural similarity, the character roles of these tales also seem to share some of the basic qualities of the fairy tales. Like the fairy tales, these tales have two main character roles - the Hero and the Donor - with same sphere of action. But unlike fairy tales, these tales have no Villain figure, nor the actions related with this character role. In fact the absence of this character role and the function of Villainy (A) as such brings it closer to the Lack - Lack Liquidated [a - K (W)] type of fairy tales discussed earlier.

Based on the nature of these tasks, the role relationships and the processes of resolvment, these tales, for reasons of analysis, are further divided into three major groups: (i) Tales of Justice, (ii) Trickster Tales, (iii) Numskull Tales. Group (i) has tales, in which the task is proposed to the Hero overtly as challenge or a poser, and the Hero very often resolves the task without a Donor, depending on his wit and prophetic wisdom.

The second and the third groups consist of trickster and numskull tales respectively. Although there seems to be some overlapping between the trickster and the numskull characters in some cultures, yet, we treat them here as two types which are thematically opposed to each other. While the numskull hero characterizes simplicity, lack of commonsense and folly, the trickster hero characterizes excess of intelligence, cleverness

and cunningness. These two thematically different tale types, however are structurally identical. The trickster heroes in Kashmiri tales are generally humans, coming from low socio - economic backgrounds and professions like a thief or a goldsmith. (see section 6.2. Examples 2 and 3). Besides, these culturally prophetic tricksters, these characteristics may be transferred to other unspecified individuals, irrespective of their social status, and profession, such as a trickster friend (section 6.2. Example 1). The trickster hero takes upon himself the task of theft or cheating and accomplishes the task with the help of his victim the tricked in the act, who unwillingly fulfills the role of the Donor (see section 6.2). A very important feature of these trickster tales is that some of these are narrated as legends and true stories, portraying these tricksters as culture heroes. This transformation of a thief or a cheat into a culture hero seems to be inspired by the fact that the different adventures of these heroes are directed against rich people and men in high social status, such as the greedy merchants, crafty priests, ministers and the king and above all the establishments they represent.

Like the trickster tale, the numskull tales, have two tale roles Hero and Donor. The Hero in these tales is a prophetic simpleton, a peasant, a villager, or a shepherd, having less or no exposure to urban wisdom or modern technical developments. Since barriers between the numskull and the normal world are purely symbolic and attitudinal, the characteristics of a numskull may sometimes be attributed to some individuals who behave abnormally under some social constraints. Thus within the narrating community itself, at the family and social levels, numskull characters are identified, at the levels of sex, age and the hierarchy these relations communicate. Therefore, we have a stupid spouse, (very often the husband) a stupid offspring (generally a son) the stupid son-in-law and a stupid servant (see section 6.3).

The Donor in the numskull tales always belongs to the normal world of ordinary means or social status. Without the Donor's help the Numskull Hero fails in accomplishing the Task that is set for him. In such cases then, we have a negative tale or a negative move of a negative - positive tale. Unlike the other tales of the other two groups (i) and (ii), the tales of this group may end up with negative results, inspite of the Donor's mediation efforts, being repeated several times (see section 6.3. especially the Examples 8 and 11).

All these tales, are very popular. Besides providing entertainment, these tales are highly structured to mediate or overcome the inherent contradiction in human societies; be these logical sociological or psychological.

Appendix

A LACH OF RUPEES FOR A BIT OF ADVICE*

(Narrator : *Pt.Chadh Ram of Habba-Kadal, Srinagar*)

A poor blind Brahmin and his wife were dependent on their son for the subsistence. Everyday the young fellow used to go out and get what he could by begging. This continued for sometime till at last he became quite tired of such a wretched despicable manner of life, and determined to go and try his luck in another country. He informed his wife of his intention and ordered her to manage; somehow, or the other for the old people during the few months that he would be absent. He adjured her to be very diligent lest his parents should be angry and curse him.

One morning he started with some food in the bundle and walked on day after day till he reached the chief entry of the neighbouring country. Hence he went and sat down by a merchant's shop and asked alms. The merchant inquired whence, he had come. Why he had come and what was his caste, to which he replied that he was a Brahmin and was wandering hither and thither begging a livelihood for himself his wife and parents. Moved with pity for the man the merchant advised him to visit the kind and generous king of that country and offered to accompany him to the court. Now at that time it happened that the king was seeking for a Brahmin to look after a Golden temple which he had just built. His Majesty was very glad, therefore when he saw the Brahmin and heard that he was good and honest, he at once deputed him to the charge of this temple and ordered fifty Kharwars of rice and one hundred rupees to be paid to him every year as wages.

Two months after this the Brahmin's wife not having heard any news of her husband left the home and went in quest of him. By a happy fate she arrived at the very place that he had reached, where she heard that every morning at the golden temple a golden rupee was given in the king's name to any bona-fide beggar who chose to go for it. Accordingly, on the following morning she arrived at the palace and met her husband.

"Why have you come here," he argued, "why have you left my parents? Care you not whether they curse me and I die? Go back immediately and wait my return".

* J.Hinton Knowles : *Folk-Tales of Kashmir*, 1893. London : Kegan Paul Trubnar and Co. pp. 32-41.

'No-no' said the woman, " I cannot go back to starve and see your old father and mother die. There is not a grain of rice left in the house".

"O Bhagawan !" exclaimed the Brahmin, " Here take this", he continued scribbling a few lines on some paper and then handing it over to her "and give it to the king. It may be that he may give you a lach of Rupees for it".

Thus saying this he dismissed her and the woman left.

On this scrap of paper were written four pieces of advice. (1) If a person is travelling and reaches any strange place at night, let him be careful where he puts up, and not close his eyes to sleep lest he closes them in death. (2) If a man is in need let him test his friends, but if he is not in need let not his friends try him. (3) If a man had a married sister and visits her in great pomp, she will receive him for his sake of what she can obtain from him, but if he comes to her in poverty, she will frown on him and disown him. (4) If a man has to do any work he must do it himself and do it with might and without fear.

On reaching her home the Brahmini told the parents of her meeting with her husband and what a valuable piece of paper he had given her, but not liking to go before the king herself, she sent one of her relations. The king read the paper and ordered the man to be flogged, he dismissed him. Next morning the Brahmini tore the paper, and while she was going along the road to the DARBAR, reading it, the king's son met her and asked what she was reading, where-upon she replied that she had in her hands a piece of paper containing certain bits of advice for which she wanted a lach of rupees. The prince asked her to show it to himself and when he had read it gave her a *parwana* for the amount and rode on.. The woman was very thankful. That day she laid in a great store of provisions sufficient to last them all for a long time.

In the evening the prince related the matter of meeting the woman to his father, and the purchase of the piece of paper. He thought his father would applaud the act. But it was not so. The king was more angry than before, and banished his son from the country.

Alas! Alas! how sad was the royal household, when they read of the king's cruel order, for the prince was a great favourite and a young man of much promise and moreover was heir to the throne. However the king's order was urgent. So the king bade adieu to his mother, relatives and friends, and rode off on his horse, whither, he did not know. At night fall he arrived at some place where a man met him and invited him to lodge at his house. The prince accepted the invitation and was treated like a prince. Matting was spread for him to squat on, the best of provisions set before him and at night the host's daughter attended him.

"Ah!" thought he as he lay down to rest "I perceive the reason of the first piece of advice that the Brahmini gave me. I will not sleep to-night"

It was well that he thus resolved, for in the middle of the night the man's daughter rose up and taking a sword in her hand rushed to the prince with the intention of killing him. The prince however, averted the blow, and seizing the sword said, "Why do you wish to slay me ? Have I wronged you in any manner ? Do I wish to wrong you ? Put up the sword again lest you bring sorrow on yourself, like that king who killed a favourite parrot by mistake".

"What king" asked the girl

"Listen" - said the prince

"Once upon a time there lived a king, who had a very beautiful parrot, which was very precious to him. This parrot lived in the royal harem, and the king always talked to it first before speaking to his wives. One day the parrot asked for one month's leave of absence to go and marry his son which leave king granted. The bird went and the marriage was celebrated and then the bird prepared to return. It brought back for the king the cuttings of two trees one of which possessed the virtue of making a young man old and the other of making an old man young. The cuttings were planted in due time and flourished and bore fruit. But just as they were beginning to ripen a great storm passed over that country bringing down the trees and a monster serpent that was carried along by the waters took refuge in them, and covered their branches with its poison. This however was not noticed by anyone. When the storm had subdued the gardener went and replanted the two trees and attended them with such care that they flourished again and bore fruit and some of their fruits was taken to the king wishing to test it on an animal first. His majesty threw some of the fruit of one of the trees to a dog. The animal ate it and died immediately. On seeing this the king became very angry and thinking that the parrot had been playing jokes with him, he ordered it to be killed. The following year the trees bore fruit again by which time all the poison had exuded from their branches. One morning, when passing an old man being Hungry, put out his hand and plucked one of the fruits and ate it, and immediately became young again. The report of the strange occurrence reached the king, who ordered some of the fruit to be brought for him. He gave some of the youth-restoring fruit to his old Wazir who at once, was changed into a strong young man as people remembered him half a century before (*Folktales of Bengal* P. 154, 158; *Indian Antiquary* Vol. XIV P. 109 : *Orientalist* ii P. 54). When the king saw this he was very sorry and grieved much for the favourite parrot that he had so cruelly killed".

"Surely you would not do the same to me" - asked the prince "No" she replied.

By the time the prince had concluded this story it was morning, and the other inmates of the family were about.

Thus was the prince saved. Ofcourse he wished to depart and would have started immediately but the master of the house would not hear of it. He prevailed on him to stay that day also and promised him to allow him to go on morrow. The prince was waited on with every attention and fed in the same sumptuous manner, as before and at night was shown to the same room, where the household's daughter also came to do his bedding. That night too the prince would not close his eyes and sleep. He was afraid what the girl might do to him. At midnight she arose and taking a sword in her hand was going to kill him, when he rose up and spoke.

"Do not slay me," he said "what profit would you get from my death?, If you killed me you, would be sorry afterwards like that man who killed his dog."

"What man, what dog?" she asked.

"I will tell you," said the prince

"If you will give me that sword"

So she gave him the sword and the prince began the second story :-

"Once upon a time there lived a wealthy merchant who had a pet dog. By some unforeseen circumstances this merchant was suddenly reduced to poverty and obliged to part with his dog. He got a loan of five thousand rupees on the animal from a brother merchant and with the money commenced business afresh. Not long after this the other merchant's shop was burgled by thieves and completely sacked. There was hardly one rupee left in the place. The faithful dog however knew what was going on and went and followed the thieves and saw where they deposited the things, and then returned".

"In the morning there was great weeping and lamentation in the merchant's house when it was known what had happened. The merchant himself nearly went mad. Meanwhile the dog kept on running to the door and pulling his master's shirt and payjamas as though wishing him to go outside. At last a friend suggested that perhaps the dog knew something of the whereabouts of the things and advised the merchant to follow its leadings. The merchant consented and went after the dog right up to the very place where the thieves had hidden the goods. Here the animal scraped and barked and showed in various ways that the things were underneath. So the merchant and his friends dug in about the place

and soon came upon all the stolen property. Nothing was missing. There was everything just as the thieves had taken them".

"The merchant was very glad. On returning to his home, he at once sent the dog back to its old master with a letter rolled up in its ear, wherein he had written concerning the sagacity of the beast, and begged his friend to forget the loan and to accept another five thousand rupees as a present. When the merchant saw his dog coming back again he thought "Alas! my friend is wanting the money. How can I pay him, I have not had sufficient time to recover myself from my recent losses". " I will slay the dog " he reached the threshold "and say that another must have slain it. Thus there will be an end of my debt. No dog, No loan". Accordingly, he ran out and killed the poor dog when the letter fell out of its right ear. The merchant picked it up and read it. How great was the grief and disappointment when he knew the facts of the case".

"Beware" continued the prince, "lest you do that which afterwards you would give your life not to have done".

By the time the prince had concluded the story, it was nearly morning.

"Alas! Alas!" said the girl, "what shall I do? Another hour and it will be day. My father strictly charged me to slay you before this, threatening to kill me, if I did not do so. What shall I do? I am in your power"

"Show me the way out of this accursed place, and come with me," replied the prince. We shall only find a horse outside, and then we can ride off quickly without fear of pursuit. Come along".

Within an hour when the other inmates of the house awoke from their sleep, the prince and the robber's daughter were several miles distant, on the road till they came to some place where one of the prince's friends lived, who gave him a hearty welcome and made him stay in his house and treated him in every way as his own brother for six months and when he expressed a wish to leave, gave him jewels and money, and horses and servants and every necessary thing for the way.

The prince then visited the country belonging to his brother-in-law. He disguised himself as a Jogi and sitting down by a tree near the palace pretended to be absorbed in worship. News of the man and of his, wonderful piety reached the ears of the king. He felt interested in him. As his wife was very ill, and he had sought for Hakims to cure her, but in vain, he thought that perhaps this holyman could do something for her, so he sent for him, but the jogi refused to tread the halls of a king. Saying that his dwelling was the open

air and that if His Majesty wishes to see him he must come himself and bring his wife to the place. Then the king took his wife and introduced her to the jogi. The holy man bade her to prostrate herself before him. When she had remained in the position for about three hours, he told her to rise and go, for she was cured.

In the evening there was great consternation in the palace, because the queen had lost her pearl rosary, and nobody knew anything about it. At length someone went to the jogi and found it on the ground by the place where the queen had prostrated herself. When the king heard this, he was very angry and ordered the jogi to be executed. This strange order however was not carried out as the prince bribed the man and escaped from the country.

Clad in his own clothes the prince was walking along one day when he saw a potter crying and laughing alternately with his wife and children. "O Fool" said he, "what is the matter? If you laugh, why do you weep. If you weep why do you laugh?"

"Do not bother me" said the potter, "what does it matter to you?"

"Pardon me" said the prince, "but I should like to know the reason".

"The reason is that", then said the potter, "the king of the country has a daughter whom he is obliged to marry everyday, because all her husbands die the first night of the stay with her. Nearly all the young men of the place have thus perished and our son will be called on soon. We laugh at the absurdity of the thing - a potter's son marrying a princess. And we cry at the terrible consequences of the marriage, (End of tale no.XIII in *Baital Pachisi*) what can we do?"

"Truly a matter for laughing and weeping. But weep no more, said the prince. "I will exchange places with your son and will be married to the princess instead of him. Only give me suitable garments and prepare me for the occasion".

So the potter gave him beautiful garments and ornaments, and the prince went to the palace. At night he was conducted to the apartment of the princess. "Dread hour" thought he, "am I to die like the scores of young men before me?". He clenched his sword with firm grip and lay down on his bed intending to keep awake all the night and see what would happen. In the middle of the night he saw two *Shahmars* come out from the nostrils of the princess (*Folktales of Bengal* P.100). They rolled over towards him, intending to kill him like the others who had been before him, but he was ready for them. He laid hold of the sword, and when the snakes reached his bed he struck at them and killed them. In the morning the king came as usual to inquire, and was surprised to hear his daughter and the

prince talking joyfully together. "Surely" said he, "this man must be her husband as he only can live with her".

"Where do you come from ? Who are you?" asked the king, entering the room.

"O king!" replied the prince, "I am the son of a king, who rules such and such a country".

When he heard this, the king was very glad and bade the prince to abide in his palace, and appointed him as his successor to the throne. The prince remained at the palace for more than a year, and then asked permission to visit his own country, which was granted. The king gave him elephants, horses, jewels and abundance of money for the expenses of the way and as presents for his father and the prince started

On the way he had to pass through the country, belonging to his brother-in-law, whom we have already mentioned. Report of his arrival reached the ears of the king who came with rope-tied hands and haltered neck to do him homage. He most humbly begged him to stay at his palace and to accept what little hospitality could be provided. While the prince was staying at the palace he saw his sister, who greeted him with smile and kisses.

On leaving, he told her how she and her husband had treated him at his first visit and how he had escaped, and then gave them two elephants, two beautiful horses, 15 soldiers and 10 lakhs of rupees worth of jewels.

Then he went to see his old friend who had treated him so generously. He pitched his encampment not far from his house, and then sent word to him to come and see him. But the friend would not go. On being asked the reason he replied that the prince did not need his help, accordingly the prince went and called on him at his home and thanked him much for all his kindness in time of need.

Afterwards he went to his own home and informed his mother and father of his arrival. Alas! his parents had both become blind from weeping about the loss of their son. "Let him come in " said the king, "and put his hands upon our eyes" and we shall see again". So the prince entered and was most affectionately greeted by his old parents and he laid his hands on their eyes and they saw again.

Then the prince told his father all that had happened to him and how he had been saved several times attending to the advice that he had purchased from the Brahmini, where upon the king expressed his sorrow for having him sent away and all was joy and peace again.

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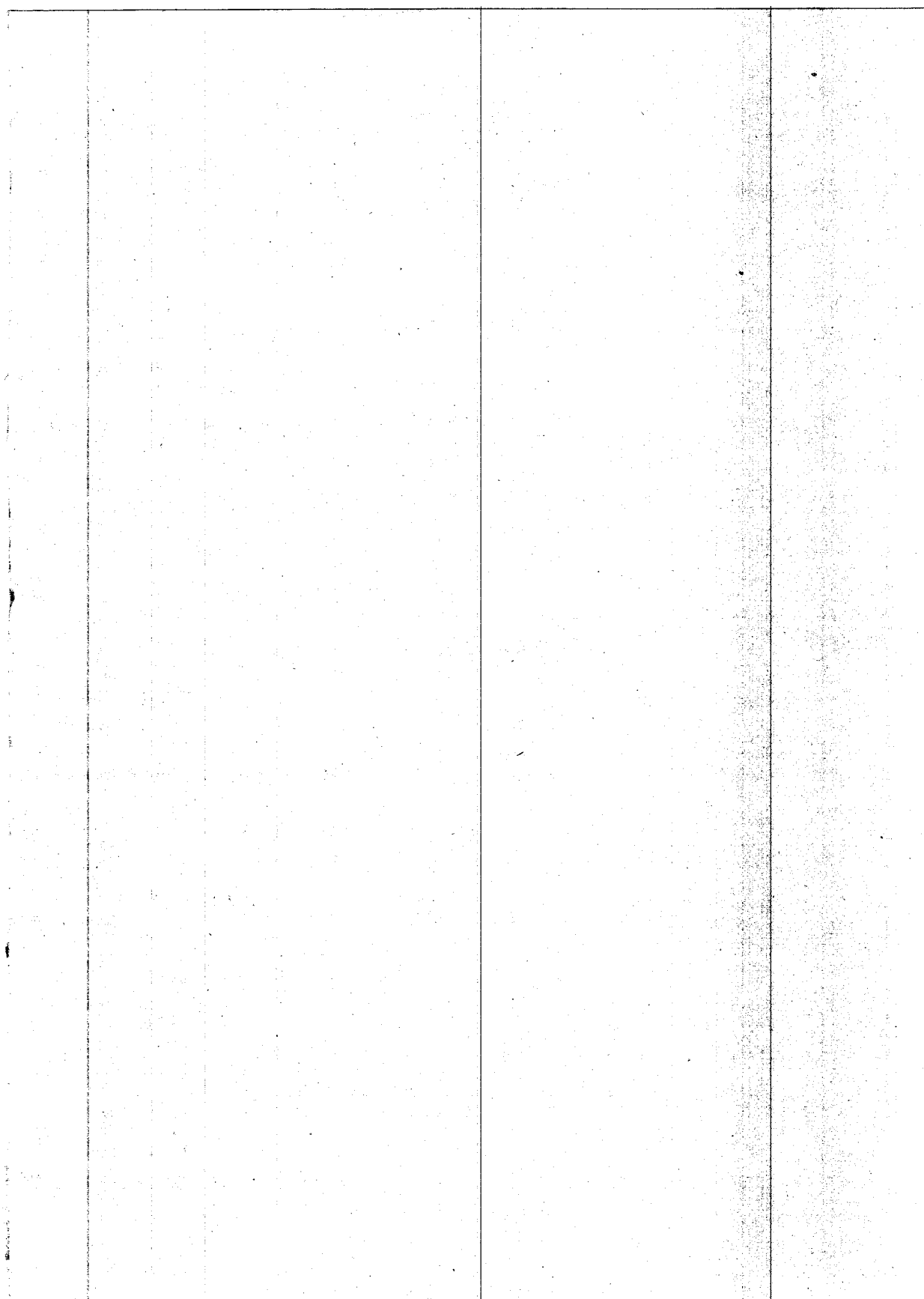
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